Programme of the German Green Party

Preface by
Jonathon Porritt

Die Grünen

Programme of the German Green Party

Preface by Jonathon Porritt

heretic books

This pamphlet is a translation from the second edition of the Federal Programme *(Das Bundesprogramm)* of Die Grünen, as published before the general election of March 1983. A note appended to it states: 'This programme expresses the present state of discussion among the Greens at the federal level [i.e. for West Germany as a whole]. In keeping with our concept of grassroots democracy, all members are involved in a continuing discussion on the programme, informed by new knowledge and experience resulting from practice.'

English edition first published November 1983 by Heretic Books,
P O Box 247, London N15 6RW. Translation copyright © 1983 Heretic Books.
Translated from the German by Hans Fernbach

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Grünen, Die
Programme of the German Green Party.
1. Grünen, Die
I. Title II. Bundesprogramm. *English*
324.243'06 JN3971. A98G72342

ISBN 0-946097-13-5

Photoset by Shanta Thawani, 25 Natal Road, London N11
Printed by Spider Web, 14/16 Sussex Way, London N7

Preface

The election of 28 Green MPs to the West German Bundestag in March 1983 changed the whole face of Green politics in Europe. Since 1980 Die Grünen had gradually built up their credibility, both through representation in certain regional parliaments and through uncompromising opposition to nuclear power, nuclear weapons and the worst excesses of contemporary industrialism. It was this 'grassroots credibility' which ensured their success in the 1983 general election, for Green politics is not only different in *what* it has to say: it is equally different in the *way* it says it.

As one of the delegation of European Greens that attended the official opening of the 1983 Bundestag, I was able to see for myself what this means in practice. The main debating chamber of the Bundestag is an austere, somewhat sterile arena; all the men — and the minute sprinkling of women — from the main parties are soberly dressed in black. Die Grünen decided not only to wear their ordinary, everyday clothes, but to bring with them some symbolic token of the Earth itself, a small tree or plant. It sounded to some like one of those typically freaky, offbeat stunts so beloved of Die Grünen — and yet, in the midst of all that moribund formality, to see them coming together in a blaze of colour, of life, of utterly honest political commitment, was an extraordinary inspiration.

Such differences of approach are apparent throughout this election programme. For those familiar with Green politics, the comprehensiveness and cogency with which the Green perspective is laid out will be a delight; for those still exploring its first principles, this document should at least remove any residual confusion about the distinction between Green politics and straight environmentalism! As such, it provides a timely challenge to *all* those who feel themselves to be part of a genuinely radical political tradition in this country.

'Radical' is of course a much overused and correspondingly devalued word in contemporary politics. But more often than not, today's 'radical' solutions are superficial, ill-judged and totally anachronistic, precisely because they pay so little attention to the state of health of the Earth which is expected to sustain these so-called 'roots'. Contemporary industrial politics is rapidly turning into a wasteland, exhausted, poisoned and polluted beyond remission. There is little sustenance to be drawn from it, however deep and however honestly one's roots may go. With so few politicians prepared to face the realities of the current crisis, conventional political wisdom is all but worthless — genuine radicals must therefore change their ground, find new life and new approaches.

It is, for example, of some importance that the whole notion of the redistribution of wealth is so fundamentally reworked within this Programme, not only to lay greater emphasis on international, North-South redistribution, but to allow for the possibility of an equitable distribution of wealth between this generation and those as yet unborn. This means orienting our economy to the *necessities* of human life today, rather than to the market-dominated dictates of capital and big business, thereby freeing ourselves from the obsession with exclusively materialistic interpretations of the quality of life. The nub of 'ecological accounting' lies in its reinterpretation of individual freedom and collective responsibility: meeting the needs of *all* people whilst conserving the wealth of the planet.

Any such approach makes far-reaching demands on people, and Green politicians throughout Europe are well aware of the strength of opposition they are beginning to arouse, and of the fragility of our democratic institutions. From their very beginning, Die Grünen have campaigned vigorously against all authoritarian tendencies, time after time demonstrating their commitment to minority groups within Germany and to all human rights campaigners both home and abroad. The section in this Programme on women's rights shows how very deep the links are between the women's movement and the Green movement, and Die Grünen's own internal organisation and working practices are a fair reflection of their commitment to a more direct, non-hierarchical form of democracy.

In a somewhat similar way, it is interesting that Die Grünen have always played a more prominent part in the German peace movement than the Greens have in Britain. The compromise, double-dealing and cynical equivocation of many leading opposition politicians makes one wonder why this still should be; for it is only the Greens, both here and in Germany, who are unconditionally opposed to all nuclear weapons, to membership of NATO, to the whole nuclear chain from uranium mining to nuclear power, and to the appalling international arms race.

And that is just the start. It is sometimes difficult for people to realise that Green politics, with its emphasis on decentralisation and human scale, lays equal stress on an internationalist approach. Our opposition to the absurdities of the Common Market, the unrelenting exploitation of the Third World, Britain's damaging and dangerous dependence on the USA, and the new imperialism of transnational corporate power, are all part of our commitment to a new international world order. Positive policies for peace, including non-nuclear defence strategies, a fairer use of the world's resources, and the very principle of nonviolence, must be campaigned *for* just as enthusiastically as we campaign *against* today's weapons of mass destruction.

The single most important feature of this Programme is to demonstrate the links between all these areas of concern. They are all referable to the same root causes. The blind pursuit of economic growth and industrial expansion ensures that 'success' can only be achieved at the cost of irreplaceable natural wealth. The exploitation of the biosphere is inextricably linked to the exploitation of people; to fight for the rights of those people, one must fight for the rights of the planet.

The next few years will see a fundamental rethink in all the major political parties. Far more than in Germany, this country is paralysed by the redundant polemic of class warfare and the mythical immutability of a left/right divide. And if the centre is capable only of a reactionary recycling of all that's been tried before, then our political options will shrink away even faster in the near future. What Die Grünen have achieved in Germany, and what the Greens are beginning to achieve in this country, constitutes a challenge to *all* radicals to renounce the wasteland of contemporary industrial politics, and to stake out a new claim in the politics of the future.

JONATHON PORRITT

I. Preamble (draft)

Introduction

We are the alternative to the traditional parties. We arose from a merger of Green, multicoloured and alternative lists and parties. We see ourselves as linked to all those working together in the new democratic movement: groups for the protection of life, nature and environment, citizens' initiatives, the workers' movement, Christian initiatives, peace, human rights, women's and Third World movements. We consider ourselves part of the Green movement throughout the world.

The established parties in Bonn behave as if an infinite increase in industrial production was possible on the finite planet Earth. As a result, they are leading us to the hopeless alternative between nuclear state and nuclear war, Harrisburg or Hiroshima, as they themselves admit. The global ecological crisis is becoming daily more acute: raw materials are getting scarce, one poison scandal follows another, animal species are being exterminated, plant species becoming extinct. Rivers and oceans are turned into sewers, human beings are threatened with mental and spiritual atrophy in the midst of a late-industrial and consumer society, and we are burdening future generations with a deadly inheritance.

The destruction of the very basis of life and work, and the demolition of democratic rights, have reached such a threatening scale as to make necessary a fundamental alternative in economics, politics and society. This is why a democratic citizens' movement arose spontaneously. Thousands of citizens' initiatives were formed, embarking on powerful demonstrations against the construction of nuclear power stations because the risks these involve cannot be evaded and their radioactive waste cannot be deposited anywhere. These citizens' initiatives have also arisen against the devastation of nature, the concreting over of our countryside, and the causes and consequences of a throwaway society which has become a danger to life.

A radical reorganisation of our short-sighted economic rationality is essential. We do not accept that the present economy of waste promotes happiness and a fulfilling life. On the contrary. People are becoming more and more agitated and unfree. Only if we free ourselves from overvaluing the material standard of living, if we again make self-fulfilment possible and bear in mind the boundaries of our nature, will our creative forces also be freed for reshaping life on an ecological basis.

We consider it necessary to supplement activities outside parliament by work in the municipal councils, state parliaments and Bundestag.

There we seek to create awareness and acceptance of our political alternatives. In this way we shall open up a further opportunity for the citizens' and grassroots initiatives to carry through their wishes and ideas.

Green, multicoloured and alternative lists have had their first electoral successes. The 5 per cent clause and other aggravations cannot hold them back any longer. We shall not participate in a government which continues the process of destruction. Instead we shall try to win support in the pursuit of our objectives even from the established parties, and vote for proposals from other parties which correspond with our own goals.

As against the one-dimensional policy of increased production we put forward a global conception. Our policy is governed by long-term future considerations, and guided by four basic principles: it is ecological, social, grassroots-democratic and nonviolent.

Ecological

Proceeding from the laws of nature, and especially from the knowledge that unlimited growth is impossible in a limited system, an ecological policy means understanding ourselves and our environment as part of nature. Human life, too, is enmeshed in the circuits of the ecosystem: we intervene in it by our actions and this reacts back on us. We must not destroy the stability of the ecosystem.

In particular, an ecological policy implies all-round rejection of an economy based on exploitation and the uncontrolled pillage of natural wealth and raw materials, as well as refraining from destructive intervention in the circuits of the natural ecosystem. It is our conviction that the exploitation of both nature and human beings must be countered by human beings, in order to repel an acute and serious threat to life.

Our policy is a policy of active partnership with nature and human beings. It is most successful in self-governing and self-sufficient economic and administrative units, of a humanly surveyable size. We stand for an economic system oriented to the necessities of human life today and for future generations, to the preservation of nature and a careful management of natural resources. We want a society which is democratic and in which relations between people and with nature are handled with increased awareness.

In order to carry through such changes in the face of the prevailing power relationships, we need a political movement in which the interrelated values of human solidarity and democracy are fundamental, and which thoroughly repudiates a way of thinking oriented to output and hierarchy and governed by a lethal competition. These social and economic changes can only be achieved democratically and with the support of the majority of the population.

Social

A future social policy must aim at the establishment of a stable social system. Above all, 'social' has an economic dimension.

Through continuous price increases and government policies of taxation and subsidies, income and wealth differentials between rich and poor are being sharpened still further. We are against a work process ruled by economic power, and leading to a situation where a few people

can decide not only what happens to the products of work but even on the very existence of many other people. This is shown by the coexistence of unemployment on the one hand and inhuman living conditions on the other.

The destruction of the living environment, ever longer journeys to work, commercialisation of leisure and of the enjoyment of nature all lead to a real impoverishment, in spite of increased incomes. Besides low-income groups, other victims are children, young people, the old and the disabled.

These exploitative compulsions of growth arise from both the competitive economy and the concentration of economic power in state and private-capitalist monopolies, with consequences that threaten the utter pollution and destruction of the basis of human life. It is here that environmental protection and the ecology movement link up with the workers' movement and trade unions. We support a reduction in working time and humane working conditions.

The ecological, economic and social crisis can be countered only by the self-determination of those affected. Since we stand for self-determination and the free development of each human being, and since we want people to shape their lives creatively together in solidarity, in harmony with their natural environment, their own wishes and needs, and free from external threat — we take a radical stand for human rights and far-reaching democratic rights both at home and abroad.

Our social conditions generate immense social and mental misery. Particularly hard hit by this situation are sections of the population who are discriminated against by race, social group, religion or sexuality. The social system is becoming increasingly unstable. The results are increased crime, higher suicide rates, drug consumption and alcoholism.

This social situation is also evident in the fact that women are discriminated against and suppressed in nearly all spheres of society.

Grassroots democracy

A policy of grassroots democracy means the increased realisation of decentralised and direct democracy. We start from the premise that priority must always be given to the decision of the base. Surveyable and decentralised basic units (local community, district) should be given extensive autonomy and rights of self-government. Grassroots democracy, however, requires comprehensive organisation and coordination if an ecological policy is to be carried through at the level of public decision-making against strong opposition. In all political spheres we support the idea of strengthening the participation of the people affected by introducing elements of direct democracy for deciding on major schemes with regional, state and federal referenda.

Our internal organisational life and our relationship to the people who support and vote for us is the exact opposite of that of the established parties in Bonn. They are neither able nor willing to accept new approaches and ideas, nor the concerns of the democratic movement. Because of this we have decided to form a new type of party organisation, the basic structures of which are set up in a grassroots-democratic and decentralised way; the two things cannot in fact be separated. A party which did not have this kind of structure would never be in a position to convincingly pursue an ecological policy in the context of parliamentary democracy. The central idea in this respect is the continuous control of all

office holders, delegates and institutions by the rank and file (through publicity and a time limitation, for example), together with replaceability at any time so as to make organisation and policy transparent to everyone and to counter the dissociation of individuals from their base.

Nonviolent

We aim at a nonviolent society where the oppression of one person by another is abolished. Our foremost principle is that humane goals cannot be achieved by inhumane means.

Nonviolence should prevail between all human beings without exception, within social groups and within society as a whole, between population groups and between nations.

The principle of nonviolence does not affect the fundamental right of self-defence and includes social resistance in its various forms. In the long run resistance can be carried out most effectively in a social manner, as shown by the example of the anti-nuclear movement. We are just as fundamentally opposed to the use of force between states in acts of war.

We therefore put forward an active peace policy in international relations. This means that we oppose the occupation of countries and the oppression of national groups, and support the independence and autonomy of national groups in all countries. Peace is inseparably linked with the independence of countries and the existence of democratic rights. Worldwide disarmament is a must. Nuclear, biological and chemical weapons must be destroyed on a world scale, and troops must be withdrawn from foreign territories.

Nonviolence does not exclude active social resistance, and so does not mean passivity for those involved. The principle of nonviolence means that resistance against government measures is not only legitimate in certain circumstances, it may even be essential for people to defend their vital interests against an authority which escapes their control (for example sit-ins, blocking of roads, obstruction of vehicles).

II. Economy and Work

II. 1. The Crisis of the Present Economic System

In our country today people are threatened by the ecological and economic crisis of industrial society. This is marked by the increasing destruction of the basis of human life and the exploitation of one group by another. The pillage of nature brings about long-term damage, part of which can never be restored. This is accepted in the interest of short-term profit. The very basis of people's lives is endangered by nuclear installations, by air, water and soil pollution, by storage of dangerous waste products and by the squandering of raw material. The pillage of human resources is also worsening. Physical and mental demands at the

workplace are on the increase, as technology is deployed and developed without regard to the vital interests of human beings. Production is not governed by the needs of people but by the interests of big capital. The ecological balance is sacrificed to the aspiration for economic growth and improved prospects of competitiveness and profit. The consequences of this threaten the complete contamination and destruction of the basis of human life as well as increased unemployment and growing social and spiritual impoverishment. This is precisely where ecology movement and workers' movement must link up.

The economic and financial policies of the established parties do not consider either ecological perspectives or the long-term interests of the population. Their chief object is a destructive economic growth. This encourages increased concentration of production and a further reduction in jobs, thus undermining the basis of existence of small and medium-sized businesses. By continuous price increases and government tax and subsidy policies, income and wealth differentials between rich and poor are still further sharpened.

II. 2. Basis and Aims of Green Economic Policy

We stand for an economic system geared to the vital needs of human beings and future generations, to the preservation of nature and a careful management of natural resources. We want a society in which people become increasingly aware of their relationship with one another and with nature, in which the observance of ecological cycles, the development and use of technology, and the relationships between production and consumption, will be the concern of all those involved. An ecologically based economy does not mean any reduction in the quality of life; it means that people use products which correspond to their needs and are compatible with the natural environment.

The key premise is that those people affected by any decision should make that decision themselves. *What* is produced, *how*, and *where*. People must be able to freely develop their various abilities and initiatives at work and at leisure.

We are fundamentally against any kind of purely quantitative growth, particularly when this is motivated simply by pure greed for profit. But we are for a qualitative growth when this can be achieved with equal or reduced use of energy and processing of raw materials (i.e. if better results can be achieved or better products manufactured). We support social growth, particularly for those who are clearly underprivileged in our society. The means necessary for this social growth are to be taken by appropriate legislative measures such as tax-free benefits and reduced social contributions.

Thus the ecological aims are:

- Careful use of energy and raw materials.
- Production of durable and reparable consumer goods.
- Recycling of discarded and waste products.
- Abandonment of materials and processes which detrimentally disrupt the ecological balance and threaten life and health.
- Full application and extension of laws for environmental protection.

The social aims are:

- Provision of sound and appropriate goods and social services.
- Guarantee of a sufficient income for all, and fair distribution of the values created so as to raise the quality of life of socially underprivileged sections of the population.
- Meaningful and dignified work and tasks for everyone.
- Further development of technology for human welfare while preserving nature and the basis of life.

We see the following measures as essential:

- Replacement of private advertising geared to manipulating and increasing consumption by objective consumer information relayed through the media by independent institutions (e.g. a consumer-goods testing foundation).
- As an immediate measure, the prohibition of tv and radio advertising as well as all advertising for the following products: cigarettes, sweets, spirits, pharmaceutical products for farm animals (antibiotics, tranquilisers, etc.) except in specialised journals for vets, agricultural poisons (pesticides, plant protectants, etc.) and artificial fertilisers.
- Patent law is to be revised so as to make it impossible for monopolies to buy up and block innovations legally protected.

These social and economic changes can only be achieved democratically and with the support of the majority of the population. In order to enforce such changes against the existing power structure, a political movement is needed which is based on human solidarity and democracy and the renunciation of hierarchy. Ecological politics and democracy form a unity.

II. 3. An Ecologically and Socially Oriented Economy (dynamic cyclical economy)

We oppose an economy in which the economically powerful decide on work processes, products, and the conditions of life of the great majority of the population. A fundamental reorientation of short-sighted economic rationality must go hand in hand with radical economic, political and cultural changes in order to safeguard an ecological and social economic system.

The Greens support all movements which promote decentralised and surveyable production units and a new and democratically controllable application of technology.

Large combines are to be broken down into surveyable units which can be run democratically by those working in them. Small and medium-sized firms, and especially all alternative enterprises, are to be maintained, equipped and supported.

A regionally specific mixed economy is to be promoted, for example ecological agriculture and forestry together with further processing of the products.

The population involved must have the political authority (economic and social councils) needed to control business activities and subject them to ecological conditions and social obligations.

To this end it is necessary to introduce alongside financial accounting a publicly verifiable 'ecological accounting'. This is to ensure that the burden on human beings and the environment emanating from particular industrial plants can be evaluated. It must be possible to restrict and close down production processes which place too high a burden on workers and environment.

Before new technologies are introduced, an evaluation stage should be allowed for in which these technologies are examined for environmental compatibility, economic use of energy and humane design of jobs. An overall social cost-benefit analysis must be carried out, in which all subsequent costs are taken into account.

Investment in the economy over the next few years must be directed towards the elimination of unemployment and economising on energy and raw materials.

II. 4. Work and Technology

Owing to economic crises, the systematic export of capital and the use of new technologies, we have to reckon with increased unemployment. Workers and employees who are not victims of unemployment are exposed to increased mental and physical stress. The world of work is marked by the constant fear of being replaced by other workers or by machines.

It is not the working human being who determines the pace of machines, but these that dictate the steps and tempo of work. Essential tasks are transferred to computers while meaningless partial functions are left to people. These jobs do not as a rule satisfy the lowest ergonomic requirements. Job devaluation is subsequently adduced as an argument for wage reductions.

Furthermore, supervision and control over the workers are intensified by technological systems of output assessment, time and motion study, and personnel control.

With the use of modern technologies, productivity has in many cases reached a level which would already make it possible to reduce the working week while maintaining full pay. This would be still more feasible if throwaway and arms production were done away with. Full wage compensation is vital for wide sections of the population in view of the rapid increase in consumer prices (rent, electricity, gas, oil, etc.).

The following demands arise from this situation:

- Gradual reduction in the working week (initially to 35 hours), with full pay in order to prevent further mass unemployment, and with no intensification of work.
- Reduction of working life by longer training and a lower and flexible retiring age with full pension, as well as the opportunity for old people to gradually reduce their working hours.
- Reduction of the working year by longer paid holidays and the opportunity of unpaid leave.
- Introduction of educational leave on a national basis.
- Abolition of overtime and extra shifts.
- Equal pay for equal work, for women and men, for Germans and immigrants.

- No wages below the official social security levels, which are to be based on the real necessities of life.
- Abolition of low pay.
- Effective protection against redundancy.
- The loss of jobs by rationalisation must be avoided by an internal redistribution of work aimed at relieving the entire workforce.
- Where redundancy is caused by rationalisation, former pay must be continued until equivalent work is found or during retraining.
- Training and work on a living wage for every young person.
- Participation of the workers affected in the determination of piece rates and job assessment.

The introduction of new technologies must not take place at the workers' expense, but must aim at designing work more humanely. Monotony, mental stress and lack of communication have all become worse due to the introduction of new technologies.

Inhumane working conditions must no longer be accepted as supposedly unavoidable economic necessities. Rather, when developing technological processes and work organisation, human characteristics and needs must be taken into account, as later changes to inhumane working conditions are restricted by the production techniques already established.

We demand:

- All investment which causes redundancy due to rationalisation must be made to pay social contributions.
- Elimination of piecework and conveyor-belt work, as well as other forms of production stress.
- Abolition of night shifts and alternating shifts as far as possible.
- Fixing of minimum time off between shifts, and time for personal needs during working hours.
- Establishment of meaningful work content in connection with skilled training.
- An end to unnecessary division of labour and specialisation; training for all employees to the maximum possible level of skill. No exclusive employment in purely mechanical activities, but alternately in planning, execution and supervision in accordance with the collective decision of those involved.
- Strict legal regulations for safety at work, noise protection and handling of poisons, in order to effectively protect life and health.

The increasing loss of jobs through continuing rationalisation, especially in the big conurbations, is matched by an increasing shortage of skilled workers. This will further intensify with the transition to decentralised, labour-intensive production in small and medium-sized units, also in ecological agriculture, the social sector and handicrafts. In order to avoid unemployment on the one hand together with a shortage of skilled workers on the other, the following measures are required:

- Timely retraining as skilled workers.
- Dissolving the conurbations to facilitate an ecologically sustainable production.

The law on codetermination as it presently exists does not contribute towards the abolition of outside decision-making. It is worse than useless, since the workers have to share responsibility while having no real say in decisions

We therefore aim in the short and medium term, at a codetermination based on skill. In the long run, however, we aim at real participation by the workers in the means of production and a genuine codetermination and coresponsibility arising from this.

In order to achieve these demands, and to counter dismissals, speed-up, and the reduction of social benefits, the workers and employees in industry, public service and all other areas require democratic rights.

We therefore support:

- The unrestricted right to strike and form unions.
- Prohibition of lock-outs.
- No blacklists or legalised snooping at work.
- Protection of trade-union officials from dismissal.
- Strengthening of grassroots democracy in the trade unions.
- Free trade-union and political activity at work and during training.
- Wage negotiation on a salaried basis.
- Equal rights for workers in the public sector.
- Abolition of legal regulations which serve to restrict the rights of the workforce and works council, including the right to strike — for example the obligation for the works council to keep secrets and not cause conflict.
- Extension of the rights of office and factory meetings, and of works units (e.g. accounting, assembly) with the aim of workshop self-management.
- No rationalisations or mass dismissals against the will of the majority of the workforce and shop stewards.

II. 5. Taxation, Currency and Finance.

(This section of the programme is still being revised.)

II. 6. Energy

Energy policy is a fundamental aspect of the Greens' programme. The energy flow is an objective measure of the state of an ecosystem, and underlies limits to growth that are also determined by climate. Here the impossibility of continuing the growth madness becomes most clearly visible. The continuation of an unlimited energy growth bursts all natural limits and leads to the self-destruction of the ecosystem. For this reason, the development of energy policy in the next twenty years has a bearing on human existence itself.

Up till now energy policy has been geared to a constant increase in consumption. It has been based on extrapolating the high growth rates of recent decades, and has set corresponding targets for power stations and energy supply installations. This kind of energy policy takes its direction from outmoded ways of thinking, i.e. those of unlimited growth. It would inevitably lead in a few decades to the exhaustion of fossil fuel reserves, damage to the climatic balance, and the poisoning and radioactive contamination of our environment.

On top of this environmental damage, the present energy policy has also led to an intensification of foreign policy problems. The policy of constant increase in energy consumption has steadily increased the dependence of those industrialised countries with the highest consumption on imported energy, and has greatly sharpened the worldwide injustice in energy distribution and the exploitation of the Third World. The industrialised countries make up 30 per cent of the Earth's population and at present use 85 per cent of all energy.

Those countries with the highest energy consumption demand the fastest growth in consumption, even though they already satisfy their hunger for energy largely by imports and by exploiting the raw material deposits of other countries.

A further intensification of this energy imperialism will lead to political and military conflicts, to the collapse of international trade and the economies of the industrialised countries in particular. The continuation of the present energy policy, with a massive expansion in nuclear power, including reprocessing plants and plutonium breeders, represents a fundamental threat to our democracy. Even today, the unchallenged monopoly of the centralised energy corporations evades almost any control, and subjects many areas of society to a 'dictatorship of the socket'. In the finished nuclear state, fundamental democratic rights and civil liberties would no longer be possible, for quite compelling reasons.

We reject the construction and operation of nuclear power stations.

- Nuclear power is not safe, as the operation of nuclear plants leads to creeping contamination by radioactivity, the potential for catastrophe presents an irresponsible risk, and nuclear waste still cannot be got rid of.
- Nuclear power stations are uneconomic even if only part of the genuine costs of the fuel cycle is taken into account. High investment in nuclear installations consumes financial resources which are urgently needed for alternative energy sources.
- Nuclear power stations are unnecessary, as the present built-in waste of energy could be replaced by a policy of energy saving, careful use of energy and an improvement in the efficiency of energy conversion.
- Nuclear power stations destroy jobs, as this increased dependence on an especially capital-intensive form of energy leads under present economic conditions to the increased use of machines and the rationalising away of jobs.
- Nuclear power stations are no solution to energy shortage, since uranium, just like other energy resources, is available only in limited quantities and cannot guarantee a permanent energy supply.
- Nuclear power threatens the future of all life, as the radioactive products of atomic fission are life-endangering.
- The use of nuclear energy threatens democracy and basic human rights, strengthening the existing tendencies towards a police and surveillance state. The march into the nuclear state is justified by the high security risks involved and the susceptibility of nuclear plants to disruption.
- The export of nuclear installations to all countries of the world creates new military risks and undermines international efforts to restrict the spread of nuclear weapons.

We Greens demand:

1) An immediate halt to the planning, construction and operation of all reprocessing and enrichment plants.
2) Withdrawal of permission and a halt to the construction of new nuclear power stations, as well as a stop to the operation of existing ones.
3) A complete ban on the export of nuclear power stations and other dangerous nuclear plant.
4) The highest safety standards on the disposal and storage of nuclear waste already present, with no plutonium manufacture or re-processing facilities.
5) No state support for nuclear technology; instead the optimum promotion of alternative energy technologies and the rational use of energy.
6) Dismantling of existing nuclear installations under the most rigorous safety precautions.

Goals of Green energy policy:

The present preponderant use of fossil fuels enables the 'production' of energy only by means of combustion. Damaging substances such as sulphur and nitrous oxides are released into the environment.

There is thus an inherent conflict between the biology of the ecosystem and the thermodynamics of the present mode of energy release.

Furthermore, nuclear power is an energy source directed against the very foundations of life. Because of this, a radical change in the energy system is essential. The production of energy by combustion must be replaced by the use of energy from environmentally benign and renewable energy sources such as sun, wind and water.

An ecological energy policy geared to the future must make use of all possibilities leading to a reduction in energy requirements and guaranteeing the optimum use of energy sources already available. We are aware that democratic freedom and human rights will only have a future if we defend ourselves in good time against the giantism of the centralised energy monopolies and the march into the totalitarian nuclear state. Available technical and scientific resources must be used for the development of soft energy. An ecological energy policy aims at stabilising energy utilisation in a mode of environmental compatibility.

In the short and medium term this can be achieved by a careful management of existing energy resources, improved efficiency in the combustion of fossil fuels, conversion to different forms of energy, and decentralised energy generation adapted to use (e.g. combined heat and power).

In the long term the entire energy supply must come from renewable energy sources.

For this reason we Greens propose the following measures:

1) Foundation and promotion of an energy company with the aim of introducing a restructuring in economy and society, and the formulation of an overall energy plan at the international level.
2) A halt to wastage of energy by abolishing tariff rebates for bulk users and night storage heaters. Introduction of energy taxes and progressive tariffs, coupled with removal of the basic standing charge, in order to stabilise energy consumption and safeguard employment.

3) Prohibition of the wastage of energy by electric space and water heating.
4) A ban on electricity advertising. Funds of the energy companies released in this way to be used to educate households about energy saving.
5) Clearly visible indication of consumption and efficiency on all electrical appliances.
6) Energy saving by the replacement of outmoded heating installations and better insulation. Use of solar energy (e.g. for hot water). Use of material which can be produced with low energy consumption (e.g. jute instead of plastic) and energy- and material-saving processes (e.g. recycling of aluminium).
7) Promotion of recycling installations for waste products or pyrolite plants.
8) Better energy use by improved combustion of fossil fuels (fluidised-bed power stations) and district heating.
9) Introduction of a tax on damage due to toxic materials and on unused waste heat from power stations and industrial plants, which leads to the raising of river temperatures and damage to the microclimate.
10) Abolition of the monopoly position of energy supply corporations, and the right for industrially and privately produced current to feed into the national grid.
11) A change in energy regulations and all legal provisions which obstruct a decentralised and renewable energy system.
12) Promotion of decentralised energy generation, for example biogas, pyrolite plants, small hydroelectric installations.
13) Immediate utilisation of wind energy, particularly for electricity generation. This technique has been available for a long time, and is economically viable.
14) Promotion of peak load stations and geothermal power.
15) Rapid further development of hydrogen technology and energy storage systems.
16) Extension of the district heating system in heavily populated areas.
17) A general speed limit on road traffic, step by step reduction from 130 to 100 k.p.h., as well as reduction of speed limits in built-up areas.
18) Energy saving by shifting both passenger and long-distance goods traffic from road to rail.
19) Far-reaching information and education about environmentally benign forms of energy use, in educational institutions and at the workplace.

II.7. Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing

II. 7.1. Agriculture

The agricultural policy pursued up till now has led us into a blind alley. During the last few years, 350 per cent more artificial fertiliser and 130 per cent more pesticide has been used to achieve an increase of 50 per cent in output. As far as damage to the environment goes, agriculture can now compete with industry. The intensive use of artificial fertiliser permanently destroys the natural fertility of the soil. Leached-out phosphates endanger the water balance, nitrates in drinking water increase deaths

from cancer. Non-degradable pesticides attach themselves to the food chain right through to human milk, where the maximum safety level is already considerably exceeded.

The understanding that our existence depends primarily on agriculture — in precedence to industry — is an essential part of Green politics.

The industrialised and chemical methods of production forced on agriculture by witholding adequate prices must be reversed by the common effort of all concerned. Organic farming should receive producer prices that cover the costs involved.

In the long run, the present largely industrialised and chemical agriculture is detrimental to everyone. The surplus products obtained in this destructive way are unsaleable. They are partly destroyed and partly stored at enormous cost.

At the same time, the number of farms is steadily decreasing. Industrialised large-scale enterprises are encouraged, peasant-type small and medium-sized farms are falling by the wayside. Flight from the countryside and unemployment are on the rise. Agriculture is developing into a branch of the economy dependent to a high degree on energy and raw materials, which in the case of crisis is just as exposed as other specialised import-dependent industries. Responsibility for this development lies with the agricultural politicians, and their fixed and one-sidedly economic way of thinking, also with agricultural scientists, journalists and union officials, many of whom are tied up with the large-scale chemical industry.

The alternatives of the Greens:

- The supreme aim of agricultural policy must be the healthy nutrition of the population. This presupposes healthy foodstuffs, which in the long term can only be produced on healthy soil. It can only be achieved by gradual transfer to an ecologically oriented mode of production. Specialised businesses (battery farming of animals, monoculture) must be replaced by mixed farming. Where livestock and cultivation are in balanced proportion, no extra input of fertiliser or foodstuffs is needed. Further prerequisites for a healthy and profitable agriculture on an ecological basis are the appropriate selection of crops for the soil, crop rotation and mixed cultivation, plantations to protect the microclimate and fauna, green manure and composting.
- Only an ecological agriculture, which is to a large extent independent of imports and industry, can ensure the adequate feeding of the population in case of a food crisis. This requires all cultivable acreage to be retained to the maximum possible extent.
- Farmers who want to change to an ecological mode of production are to be given transfer help.
- We are against a subsidy policy which only safeguards the profits of manufacturing industry and the large farmers.
- We insist that agricultural surpluses must immediately cease being destroyed. If the product allows it, export to areas of starvation should be undertaken without regard to EEC export tariffs. Foodstuffs should only be exported to Third World countries if this does not displace the production of food in these countries. Products made cheaper by the exploitation of shortages in other countries should stop being imported.
- Chemical pesticides and herbicides must eventually disappear from agriculture and horticulture so as not to poison foodstuffs and soil any longer. But in the years of readjustment stricter legal limits should

already be imposed on their use, with thorough controls on their observance. Maximum limits are particularly to be reduced with regard to children, unborn and sick people. Every product must show the chemicals with which it has been treated and produced. Residues of noxious substances in foodstuffs must be extensively monitored, and infringement of the maximum limits must be penalised sufficiently for the risk to the producer or importer to considerably exceed the anticipated profit.

- The supply of products from ecological agriculture is to be increased (including cooperative marketing by the farmers). This requires scientific criteria of quality. Producer and consumer are to be informed about the importance to health of these quality products. All processing of foodstuffs must be done with a view to safeguarding their quality. The forms of processing should be appropriately assessed and indicated on the products.
- A large part of the energy requirements of an agricultural unit can be obtained from its own waste products. E.g. milk cooling can provide a warm water supply, used straw can be used to heat buildings, biogas can be used as fuel among other things. Readjustment to this kind of energy source is to be supported.
- The agricultural advice system must be extended to provide necessary knowledge about ecological agriculture. This must become a compulsory subject at agricultural colleges.

But apart from these ecological and economic aspects, agriculture also has very urgent social and cultural tasks:

- Farmers practising ecological agriculture should receive a bonus independent of their level of production for measures to preserve the countryside, as this creates values for society and saves the costs of making good damage.
- As ecological agriculture is more labour-intensive than industrialised agriculture, it creates more jobs and also saves energy and raw materials.
- Medium-sized farming offers good preconditions for ecological agriculture. Smallholdings and part-time farming also deserve support, as they reinforce the independence of the population and help to decentralise production. Cooperatives and similar organisations should be promoted.
- Industrialisation and the pressure to increase output have led to the cultural impoverishment of farm life. Rural cultural initiatives are therefore to be supported.

II. 7.2. Forestry

The main task of forestry is to sustain the ecological stability of the forest. Timber production for profit must be subordinate to this aim.

- Forest monoculture is to be restricted in favour of a more natural mixed foilage, mainly with native types of wood. Large machines which destroy the forest must not be employed.
- Instead of complete deforestation we demand individual selective felling. In this way a permanent reforestation from stock of different ages and structure is created.

- Chemicals should only be employed in forestry until a safe balance is reached, and they are to be banned after a half cycle.
- We demand the conservation and extension of forests, above all for biological cleaning of the air, to safeguard the water system and for recreation.
- Red and roe deer are to be reduced without further delay to a level compatible with the preservation and rejuvenation of healthy mixed woods of various species without protection by fences.

II. 7.3. Fishing

Modern fishery has got caught in a net of 'material constraints'. Due to severe international competition, the shipowner is compelled to produce maximum yields with minimum labour costs. The exhaustion of coastal waters forces longer fishing trips and the use of highly mechanised factory ships.

As modern fishery is not conducted in accordance with ecological perspectives (short-term profit comes before long-term food supply), it is marked by high energy use, destruction of jobs and the pillage of fish stocks.

Only an immediate rethinking and about-turn can lead out of this dilemma, in order to retain for the future an important source of food and a functioning natural environment.

The first measures should be:

- Immediate conclusion of fishing treaties, which must be examined to check whether they contain unreasonable hardships for coastal states.
- Immediate reduction of catch quotas of endangered species to allow stocks to recover.
- Consistent control of fishing grounds, protected zones, mesh sizes and close seasons.
- Support for small and medium-sized fishing techniques which can be operated by small and medium-sized shipping companies (family businesses).
- No waste of edible fish and fish products. Young fish must no longer be caught for use as fishmeal.
- An immediate ban on catching and hunting any species of whale. Exceptions are permissible only where whales are hunted with traditional weapons for immediate subsistence as food. Products of the whaling industry are to be subject to a general import ban.

II.8. Town Planning and Traffic

II.8.1. Town Planning

The areas of home, work, recreation, self-education and shopping must be connected in space in a sensible way. This means decentralisation: promotion of variegated units, each as independent as possible, instead of uniform and large complexes hostile to the environment. The characteristic symptoms of the conurbations must be combatted.

These consequences of an anti-people policy in the conurbations are: destruction of towns due to land speculation and rent profiteering; destruction of housing space due to the displacement of the population from old established residential areas to depressing satellite towns; construction of skyscrapers and office blocks; building of main roads and motorways across areas of recreation close to the towns and into residential areas; extension of built-up areas to the detriment of the natural environment. This has also had disastrous effects on climatic conditions in the conurbations. Wind corridors have been closed up, cutting off the fresh air supply. Meadows and woods, which in summer represent important cold storage areas, have been built on, worsening the temperature conditions.

In planning policy the Greens demand:

- A pro-people, social and environmentally benign architecture; among other things, no more skyscrapers must be built.
- No destruction of housing stock in good condition; renovation to take precedence over demolition and new construction. After renovation, tenants must be able to move back at an acceptable rent.
- Preservation of town districts which have evolved historically, dismantling of the conurbations without de-structuring.
- No change in the character of residential areas to service and business areas.
- A complete end to the expulsion of the residential population from old established urban districts.
- Creation of surveyable units in all restoration plans; a mixture of non-disturbing workplaces, especially repair shops, and residential accommodation.
- Preference should be given to the construction of two to three storey dwellings, also in the rented sector.
- Preservation and extension of green and recreation spaces without consumer-oriented leisure facilities.
- Preservation and extension of allotments, use of unutilised land for new allotments.
- Improved play facilities close to dwellings, conversion of courtyards and suitable streets.
- Preservation or extension of shopping facilities in residential areas, at least for daily and weekly needs.
- Establishment of smallish community meeting-places which can be easily reached from residential areas.
- New building development should be carried out first of all in areas already developed. When new building land is allocated outside existing residential areas, the requirements of environmental protection are to be respected.
- In planning residential areas, the creation of ghettos (such as old people's homes, immigrant districts, single-family terrace-house deserts) must be avoided by planning a mixture of different types of housing and by giving preference to points of neighbourly contact as the prerequisite for social communication.
- Extensive information and real opportunities for citizens to participate in all planning.
- Control of inflationary land speculation.
- Replacement of private agents by free housing agencies run by the local authorities.
- No urbanisation of villages.

II. 8.2. Traffic

22 Policies oriented to growth and encouraging concentration have led to an excessive separation of the spheres of work, recreation, self-education and shopping. The result is an enormous expenditure on transport. This is to a large extent unnecessary and senseless, while private cars are mainly responsible for the death each year of 14,000 people, including 2,500 children and young people under 18.

A further half million injured and crippled are also left by the roadside. Millions of citizens cannot sleep quietly and have their health damaged by exhaust gases. Town and country areas are cut up and destroyed by concrete wedges. The result is a threatening and hazardous environment for adults and children alike.

To this the Greens oppose a humane traffic policy based on the following three principles:

1) Reduction of traffic to the really essential network, which can only be achieved by a different arrangement of space and infrastructure, while promoting the necessary transfer from individual traffic to public local and long-distance transport.
2) Promotion and optimum exploitation of those means of transport which at any given time put the least strain on the environment.
3) Vehicles of all kinds, especially those with internal combustion engines, must immediately be improved by legal measures, particularly with regard to energy consumption, noise, exhaust gas emission, the safety of both their occupants and other road users, as well as ease of repair and durability.

Our demands for local transport are:

- Absolute priority of rail over road, in the form of trams, subways and national railways.
- Transfer of funds by taxation from road traffic to rail projects.
- Contruction of new lines for the national railways and regional networks.
- All lines to be integrated into the ecological system.
- Reduction of noise level of rail vehicles by the use of new techniques.
- Car traffic in residential areas is to be restricted as far as possible by means of traffic-free and low traffic-density zones. A maximum speed limit of 25 k.p.h. is to be introduced in these areas. Heavy goods traffic across residential areas is to be strictly prohibited. Suitable crossings are to be provided at old people's homes and homes for the disabled, as well as at nurseries and schools.
- A maximum permissible petrol consumption is to be established and gradually reduced. Filter equipment and engine encapsulation for noise reduction are to be made compulsory.
- In the long run, petrol is to be replaced by methanol or hydrogen.
- Road building is essentially to be restricted to the necessary maintenance and completion of the existing road system. Building of new motorways and trunk roads is to be stopped; the people employed in road building can be retrained for measures of landscape preservation, environmental protection and energy saving. No building of new traffic routes through areas which in any way deserve preservation from the ecological point of view.
- Construction of a dense network of unimpeded tramways, instead of

expensive underground systems with large tangled networks and few stations.

- Encouragement of bicycle traffic by a denser and fundamentally improved system of cycle paths. Cycles must also be given the same traffic space as cars, i.e. they must be allowed to travel side by side.
- No more salting of streets; instead increased use of chippings and sand.
- Local public transport must be suitable for use by the disabled and must also allow the carriage of bicycles without extra charge.
- Easing of pedestrian movement by wider footpaths and 'green waves' when several traffic lanes have to be crossed.
- Improvement of conditions on local public transport, e.g. more frequent trains, special bus lanes, better connection of residential zones, particularly in rural areas.
- Introduction of bus call systems and organisation of car pools.
- Establishment of community traffic associations throughout the country.

Our demands for long-distance traffic are:

- No further closure of railway lines; keeping open the possibility of reactivating lines that have been closed.
- Retaining and modernisation of the railway system, improved availability of railways for container transport in place of heavy goods vehicles.
- Introduction of goods traffic tariffs appropriate to an ecologically oriented economy.
- Speed limits on motorways.
- Extensive transfer of internal air traffic to railways.
- Construction of additional major airports is unnecessary and damaging to the environment.
- Abolition of tax freedom for aircraft fuel.

This means that in all areas of public transport, instead of taking into account simply the cost of petrol, an overall social and ecological accounting is necessary. This implies a drastic reduction in fares on long-distance railways, and zero fares for local public transport. As an initial measure we demand an immediate fares freeze on local public transport.

II.9. For Economic Partnership With Third World Countries

Though the industrialised nations have been giving so-called development aid for decades, the gap between rich and poor countries is steadily increasing. Millions of people starve to death, while here many suffer from over-eating and large quantities of high-grade foodstuffs are used for animal fodder or destroyed.

By spreading our way of life we destroy the cultures of these countries, by large-scale technical and agricultural projects we endanger the ecological balance and indigenous economic structures. This leads to increased dependence of the countries kept underdeveloped on the industrialised countries.

The sole cause of this development is the profit motive.

Because of their dependence, these countries have to supply us with food, raw materials and services at minimal prices, while they receive in exchange goods whose prices are greatly inflated as compared with their performance.

Genuine partnership with the countries of the Third World must therefore be based on the premise that these countries receive a fair price for their work and products. In that case, payments which we give like charity will to a large extent become superfluous.

Genuine partnership must also not lead to the destruction of the indigenous cultures of Third World countries and their replacement by our culture and philosophy.

All aid should always be helping people to help themselves.

The following are the most important tasks in this connection:

- Support for the peoples of the Third World in recognising and solving their many social and economic problems.
- Setting up a modern ecological agriculture with special regard to local needs, climate, soil, etc.
- Support with training, particularly in agriculture and handicrafts.
- Promotion of decentralised sales and marketing organisations (preferably on a cooperative basis) as well as retail cooperatives.
- Transfer of public development aid from large-scale and prestige projects, which experience shows do not benefit the underprivileged, to welfare and church organisations which are involved in development policy on the spot.
- Capital and credit assistance must not be dependent on supply conditions.
- An end to all military aid.
- The creation of a consciousness of partnership requires education in development policy. As well as its own publicity work, therefore, the West German government must also assist the educational work of Third World support groups across the country.

Development towards genuine partnership with the countries of the Third World is not only a question of morality, after centuries of exploitation, but a survival necessity for all of us.

III. Foreign Policy and Peace Policy

III.1. Global Policy

The future of life on our planet Earth can only be safeguarded if a survival community of all peoples and nations is formed. For this reason, cooperation in partnership with all nations of the world is the uppermost principle of our foreign policy.

Though we all undoubtedly live in one world, it would be quite contrary

to the principles of an ecological policy if we were to try and solve all problems uniformly and centralistically.

Our aim is to maintain the viability of particular regions of the Earth even if they have to depend on themselves. This corresponds to our principle of decentralisation within the state.

Each nation and each population group must develop an ecologically appropriate economy, and each nation must be in a position to preserve its own particular culture. We condemn the presumption of the industrialised countries in seeking to force on all other countries — out of their own economic interests — their uniform technical and materialist civilisation. The policy of the industrialised countries towards the Third World has so far been predominantly geared to their own profit, and must therefore be rejected.

As many of the important tasks of the future can only be achieved by a worldwide organisation, we Greens support the strengthening of the United Nations. The first institution for all nations must be expanded into an effective instrument of peace policy in the sense of the right of nations to self-determination. For this reason we fundamentally oppose the right of veto in the United Nations.

The additional immense task of the United Nations is to preserve the ecological balance on the planet.

Particular aspects of this are:

- Worldwide disarmament negotiations, control of armaments and the arms trade.
- Control of the observance of human rights (especially the rights of minorities, women and children); publicising of offences against human rights.
- The preservation and replanting of forests in all continents, for example in the Amazon basin, as the basis of soil fertility, the recycling of hydrogen and oxygen, and the climate around the world.
- The controlled protection of the oceans from refuse and poisoning; preservation and preferably increase in fish stocks instead of their destruction by over-fishing, undersea mining and oil pollution.
- Space projects must be subject to strict control by the United Nations; military abuse is to be particularly avoided.
- Overpopulated countries must receive on request every assistance with birth control, as otherwise their problems will become insoluble. A fundamental cause of hunger in the Third World is its need to obtain income from the sale of foodstuffs and the manufacture of goods for export. Any development aid given must not make these countries dependent, but must promote their autonomy.
- The mineral riches of the Earth, which are the common — and non-renewable — inheritance of humanity, must be used in a most economic way so that other countries and future generations can obtain the share they need.
- The satisfaction of basic needs, in particular food for the poor and for countries kept underdeveloped, can only be ensured if people are given suitable assistance in helping themselves. This can only be done by appropriate 'soft' technologies which maintain the long-run fertility of the country and tap the solar energy which is richly available.
- Vocational training of the less developed peoples must be promoted not so as to impart to them the failed ideas of the industrialised countries but rather to allow them to solve their problems within their means and in a way appropriate to their environment.

III.2. European Peace Policy

Ecological foreign policy is a policy of non-violence. With the introduction of nuclear weapons war has reached completely new dimensions. The possibility of destroying the whole Earth several times over has turned war into the pure and simple murder of nations and a crime against life in general.

Our peace policy is directed against all forms of aggression, militarism whether inward or outward, competitive armaments and the arms madness. It is oriented towards a peaceful life together in solidarity.

Peace policy is aimed at achieving social conditions of self-determination and freedom within countries as opposed to the relations of force prevailing at present. We want all countries and peoples to decide for themselves on their road of development, we want them to have every opportunity of using their abilities and resources. We are against all forms of tutelage, interference, occupation and pillage, whether political, economic, military or cultural, especially in the Third World but also in relation to all states, nationalities and minorities.

Humanity can only survive if right takes the place of might. We Germans must particularly stress this demand, as any so-called 'emergency' would bring our destruction. The nuclear 'deterrent' has become an ineffective threat, as it implies nuclear self-destruction. Peace and disarmament must therefore become the maxim of German foreign policy and strategy.

Nonviolence does not mean capitulation, but safeguarding peace and life by political means instead of military, and by social defence. Social defence means organising and reorienting our society in such a way (in the direction of civil courage, resistance, alternative and decentralised structures) as to make immediately clear to an aggressive foreign power that attempted occupation and domination would entail more difficulties and a greater burden than the increase in power and profit it might bring.

The construction of a civil power guided by peace must proceed by immediately beginning to dissolve the military blocs, in particular NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This will create the basis for overcoming the partition of Europe and the division of Germany.

As the first essential steps of an active German peace policy, we propose:

- Development of a common European peace order with the object of successfully completing all the bogged down disarmament negotiations, within and outside of the United Nations, by concrete and feasible projects. This includes calculated initial steps by the Federal Republic of Germany, e.g. no introduction of new weapons systems. Immediate worldwide disarmament! Disarmament must begin in one's own country, designed to induce other countries to disarm as well. Unilateral disarmament should seek to strengthen the peace movement in order to assist a breakthrough to worldwide disarmament, particularly by the USA and USSR.
- Worldwide disarmament negotiations, control of armaments and the arms trade.
- A global ban on the storage and production of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.
- No production and stationing of NATO intermediate range missiles

(e.g. Pershing II and Cruise) and removal of Warsaw Pact intermediate range missiles (e.g. SS-20).
- Creation of a weapon-free zone in East and West Europe.
- Withdrawal of all troops from foreign territories.
- Prohibition of the arms trade and the export of nuclear technologies and plant, since nuclear fuel cycles and weapons construction are inseparable from one another.
- Dismantling of the German armaments industry and its conversion to peaceful production, e.g. new energy systems and equipment for environmental protection.
- Examination of all economic and political measures to see whether they intensify or reduce conflicts anywhere in the world.
- Reduction of the West German armed forces and government-prescribed alternative service; promotion of voluntary social service.
- The abolition of military service in the long term.
- Reduction of military manoeuvre zones, and an ecologically responsible recultivation of devastated areas.
- 'Social defence' in place of the arms race which is leading to a third world war.
- Programmes of training and education in nonviolent action.
- A ban on the army making propaganda in schools.
- A ban on the sale of war toys, also on books and films which glorify war.
- Expansion and increased financial support for peace and conflict research.
- Support for all associations that conduct anti-militarist work.
- The right to refuse military service must apply without restriction. This means abolishing the discriminating procedure of conscientious examination, and the reduction of civilian service to the same length as military service.
- Equal treatment of people doing military or civilian service.
- Free political and trade-union activity for soldiers and people doing civilian service.
- An end to compulsory barracks living for soldiers and those doing civilian service.
- Free choice of workplace, as far as possible, for people doing civilian service, without any reduction of permanent staff in the establishments affected.
- Worldwide denunciation of all politicians, scientists, military strategists and technicians who plan, build, operate or support techniques and weapons systems for mass destruction and genocide. If these are used in war, responsibility to an international tribunal which we shall endeavour to set up.

III.3. Partnership With Third World Countries

The peoples of the Third World are subject to a double dependency, on the industrialised countries and also on the upper classes in their own countries. We therefore aim at solutions on both levels, improvements in relations between industrialised countries and the Third World, together with increased emancipation for othe peoples of the Third World.

There can be no realistic hope for a stable world peace as long as there is no hope for the world's poor, and as long as a merciless struggle is waged by all industrialised states East and West for raw materials and the world market. What industrial society calls 'growth' is based in reality on a global competitive battle by the strong against the weak, which can only end with a general collapse. The domination of the world market by giant corporations leads to an increasing impoverishment of the Third World countries and must end in a breakdown of the present world economic order.

Private investment in countries kept underdeveloped must be assessed by whether it really helps these countries with their development. In this assessment, the economic perspective must be secondary to ecological and social principles.

Restoration of the ecological basis of life for human beings, animals and plants is indispensable, as in the last instance only these determine the well-being of a nation.

The industrialised states can attain a new relationship with the countries of the Third World only if they renounce their continuous industrial expansion. We emphatically oppose the definition of 'development' simply as economic growth, at the cost of irreplaceable natural and cultural capital. This model of development, together with so-called development aid, leads to the Third World countries being exploited by the industrialised countries, and robbed of their own forms of life and resources. In its place we shall try to develop jointly with the Third World countries those new ecological practices which will preserve us from all becoming victims of the gathering world crisis.

We decidedly oppose wars for the plunder of new material, which may one day be the cause of a third world war. If need be, we shall call on our population to resist offensive wars of this kind as contrary to the West German constitution. We similarly condemn any military and secret service intervention in the Third World.

We demand increased aid for the Third World countries with the object of furthering their own development. We see these peoples as free partners in a humanity which will perish if it proves unable to organise a meaningful and sustainable life for all within the limits of our planet.

The most important tasks and demands in this connection are:

Development aid by the West German government must be immediately increased to at least 0.7% of GNP (UN recommendation).

- Diversion of a far higher share of the industrialised countries' GNP to the Third World.
- Development aid must not be tied by restrictive arrangements and demands for repayment. Development funds must be used for small-scale projects which promote the welfare of the population and do not just operate for export.
- A debt moratorium (postponement of repayment dates) or write-off of debts.
- No open or hidden linkage deals by which credits are given only for the purchase of West German industrial goods.
- Guarantee of fair prices for goods and services.
- A ban on the exploitation of workers in so-called cheap labour countries by German companies.
- Prohibition of the ruthless exploitation of foreign mineral wealth by German and multinational companies.

- No import of agricultural products from countries kept underdeveloped which do not produce sufficient food for themselves.
- Gradual dismantling of major economic entanglements (multinationals) in Third World countries. Self-sufficiency and a sensible global division of labour must be combined in such a way as to meet the interests of the poor and poorest countries.
- Redistribution of the control over raw materials and means of production in favour of the Third World countries.
- Redistribution of land in favour of small farmers.
- Help with the development of an economic order which meets the needs of the population concerned and respects basic ecological principles.
- Creation of opportunities for the Third World countries to disconnect themselves from the world market, which has proved to be more of a hindrance than a help.
- Recognition and support for cooperatives as direct partners of the population, with important economic, domestic and foreign policy functions.
- Help with self-help, in school and vocational training and in medical care for the population.
- No obstruction of independent developments in the Third World.
- No uranium mining in the Third World or anywhere else.
- No economic and financial aid to governments which violate human rights.
- We advocate peaceful support for popular resistance against regimes which practise open or structural violence.
- Support for liberation movements.
- No economic, military, armaments or secret service cooperation with fascist and racist regimes. Suspension of diplomatic relations or at least adherence to UN sanctions resolutions.

Ethnic and racial minorities (majorities) are oppressed and persecuted in many countries of the world. Their languages, culture and identities are threatened, their land expropriated or destroyed by settlement. Because of this we support organisations, civil rights movements, cooperatives, cultural, economic, political and social institutions and publications of these minorities whose work is directed towards economic self-sufficiency and organisational self-determination.

IV. Environment and Nature

IV.1. Environmental Protection

Encroachment on natural habitats and the extermination of animal and plant species is destroying the balance of nature and along with it the basis of our own life. It is necessary to maintain or restore a biologically intact environment, in order to ensure the humane survival of future generations. A general rethinking is needed. The destruction of the natural balance by a policy of limitless industrial growth must be stopped before it is too late.

We are disturbed by and will not accept:

- The irresponsible treatment of soil, water and air like a disposable consumer good.
- The valuation, marketing and destruction of the natural vegetation of old established countryside predominantly in terms of commercial perspectives.
- Human experience being deprived of the beauty of nature.
- The ever increasing number of animal and plant species that are exterminated and threatened due to the destruction of their habitats.
- The contamination of air, water and soil by radioactivity and the concentrated chemical industry.
- The occurrence of climatic deterioration, soil erosion and even the partial formation of steppes as a result of deforestation caused by road-building, industrial developments, and the disruption of our natural environment.

An ecologically oriented policy assumes a knowledge of natural cycles and equilibria, as well as of all the consequences of human interference.

Our primary objective is therefore the education of the population about these relationships. The adoption of an ecologically oriented policy, which is so urgently needed, is still blocked by powerful economic interests. The prevailing economic rationality must be replaced by a policy guided by long-term and ecological goals. We must stop the violation of nature in order to survive in it.

In future, economic aims can only be achieved in the context of ecological necessities. The supreme commandment must be the smallest possible change in natural processes. Our actions must be directed towards reversing the present disturbance of the ecosystem. Citizens' initiatives, and organisations for the protection of nature and life, have long been supporting the preservation of the natural environment, and are striving for alternative technologies and ways of life based on ecological principles.

In order to achieve the aims described below, we demand a ministry of the environment.

We demand:

- The immediate application of the principle that the causer of pollution must pay its costs.
- The maintenance and extension of forests, especially for the biological cleaning of air, the safety of water supply and for recreation.
- Production processes which do not produce toxic refuse.
- In principle, all 'waste' should be discharged in such a way that it is re-usable as raw material.
- The quantity of refuse should be reduced by replacing one-way packaging and short-lived consumer goods by standardised packaging and durable products.
- Refuse disposal facilities should emphasise the sorting of usable raw materials (recycling) and not just dumping.
- Organic refuse, including clarifying slurry, should be turned into compost and made available to agriculture, in order to maintain the nutrient cycle. In this process it is necessary to ensure that the compost is not contaminated by poisions including heavy metals from industrial effluents.

- Refuse which cannot be reused must be treated in such a way that it can enter the ecosystem without causing imbalance or other damage.
- A ban on the import of toxic refuse from abroad for storage or processing against payment.

IV.2. Protection of Nature and Countryside

Harmonious planning is needed not only for industrial zones but in future also for the preservation of large areas as nature reserves. These not only serve human beings, they also serve to protect plant and animal species which would otherwise be undoubtedly doomed to destruction. If a nature reserve has lost its specifically protective character, this should be restored by appropriate care.

The traditional practice of nature protection only preserves individual species or areas from the process of industrial destruction, and is far from sufficient. This protection must apply not only to isolated natural landscapes, but also where people actually live, in villages and towns and their surroundings.

We Greens support the following aims:

- No special dispensation from nature and countryside protection.
- Green and forest areas which are removed from the air and water system by building are always to be completely replaced.
- Wetlands are to be preserved and newly established as the habitats of many animal and plant species. Further drainage measures are to be stopped.
- Extensive protection of shore areas and the adjoining salt marshes.
- Large refuse tips must not be allowed in rural protection areas and other areas deemed worth protecting, nor where they interfere with groundwater (e.g. the Messel tip near Darmstadt).
- Land reclamation should be conducted on the advice of ecological consultants.
- Building must not encroach on recreational areas.
- Municipal building plans must compulsorily include protection zones (e.g. parks, green spaces, protective areas for springs).
- Ecological reasons speak against large-scale new traffic projects such as airports, canals and motorways.
- Official departments for nature and environmental protection (up to a ministry of the environment) with qualified personnel and suitable technical facilities must advise and control at state and federal level.
- Nature and environment protection associations must be included in planning procedures and be granted plaintiff rights.
- We demand 'open planning' and publication of the full decision-making process.
- Experts from associations and citizens' initiatives have a right to participate in planning procedures with their expenses paid.

IV. 3. Water

32

In our industrial society the consumption of water has been doubling every ten to twenty years. Rainfall, however, remains constant. River water is increasingly suffering in quality from the enormous burden of dirt and toxic materials placed on it. Groundwater, which nowadays supplies a major proportion of water requirements, has reached a frighteningly low level in Germany, as a result of measures of water management and scientific agriculture. Our waters are placed under stress by effluents from industry, domestic use and commerce, and to this must be added the heating effect of increasing quantities of cooling water from power stations, leached-out fertilisers and poisons from agriculture, the precipitation of exhaust gases, and poisoning from major accidents (e.g. oil tanker disasters).

In this situation we Greens support the following objectives:

- Production processes and products should essentially be selected in such a way as to produce only a minimum of ecologically bearable effluents (e.g. by closed circuit water systems in industry).
- On principle, companies and local authorities should be obliged to establish treatment systems for all effluents. These must in future include the stage of chemical and physical purification, as well as biological.
- As a matter of principle, effluents must be released upstream from the intake point.
- The law introducing charges for effluents must finally come into force. The charges provided for must be fixed very much higher, in accordance with the principle that polluters should pay for all costs they cause.
- To reduce the phosphate contact in the water system, washing powder must in future be free of phosphates. In a context of ecological agriculture, phosphate fertilisers can be largely dispensed with.
- Groundwater cannot replace polluted surface waters. Maximum economy with water is thus indicated: a) Charges for excess water consumption whether business or domestic. Industrial plants must where possible recirculate their own water. b) Valuable drinking water must no longer be wasted on flushing toilets and cleaning cars. Separate drinking water and utility pipelines must therefore be provided.
- A ban on the fluoridisation of drinking water.
- The concreting, grading and lowering of river beds is to be stopped and where possible reversed, so as to retain biological self-cleaning and wetlands.
- Large areas for groundwater intake are essential.
- Land surfaces must not be sealed with concrete or asphalt.
- Our rivers and lakes, as well as the North and Baltic seas, must be kept clean not only to preserve the ecological balance, but also as important food sources.
- Bathing in rivers and lakes must again become possible.

IV. 4. Air

Each year gigantic quantities of toxic exhaust gases and dust are blown into the air, including carbon monoxide, sulphur dioxide, nitrous oxides and hydrocarbons, together with dust and soot. Thousands of people have already lost their lives in smog catastrophes around the world. The combined effect of different toxic materials (synergism) and the concentration of poisons via food chains is leading to increased damage to the health of living beings. Air pollution can only be fought effectively where it is produced.

We Greens therefore demand:

- Immediately effective measures to reduce the emission of pollutants by industry, power stations, motor vehicles, aeroplanes, refuse incinerators, as well as public and private heating equipment.
- Heavy emission charges for motor vehicles; benzole- and lead-free petrol. Gradual replacement of petrol by methanol and in the long term by hydrogen.
- An absolute ban on the emission and distribution of carcinogenic pollutants. The speedy production of expert reports on their harmful effects.
- In order to reduce the burden placed on the air by car and industrial exhausts, filters must be made compulsory, and the ecologically most effective filters must be used rather than the cheapest.
- Drastic reduction of the emission and intake limits presently in force, and the fixing of limits for all pollutants.
- International control of emissions and international agreements on upper limits.
- Reduction of the limits for triggering the smog alarm.
- Immediate extension to all areas of the network for measuring air quality.
- Prohibition of fluorohydrocarbons as a propellant in aerosols, as these damage the ozone layer of the atmosphere. Harmless techniques which could replace them are already developed.

IV. 5. Noise

Noise is one of the main causes of stress and leads to illnesses in densely populated and overmechanised regions. Noise can only be fought at its source. The reduction of traffic and building noise is no longer a technical but a financial problem. Any avoidable noise nuisance (e.g. sports planes, motorboats and motor sports within audible distance of residential and recreational areas) is to be immediately terminated.

We Greens support:

- The reduction of noise limits on principles of health and not finance. (Additional expenditure on noise reduction will be more than offset by savings on the health service.)
- Subsidies for noise protection measures and for the provision of soundproof windows.

- Reduction of traffic noise by the gradual introduction of encapsulated engines for motor vehicles, the development and use of quieter engines for cars, motorbikes and aeroplanes, and quieter rolling stock for rail vehicles; restriction of air traffic and prohibition of night flights.
- Reduction of traffic noise in residential areas by the extension of local public transport as well as the reduction of inner-city traffic and speed limits.

IV. 6. Animals and Plants (protection of species)

As a result of unrestricted human action, animal and plant species are being destroyed at an ever increasing tempo, the wealth of species is irrevocably reduced and the ecological balance more and more upset.

We Greens demand:

- Maintenance and restoration of virgin countryside and the re-introduction of animals and plants which have been exterminated in our country.
- Protection of native animals and plants in their natural surroundings must be given priority over economic development plans. The natural environment of animals and plants must be safeguarded by extensive biotope protection. West Germany should campaign internationally for the protection of species, e.g. a ban on the cruel hunting of seals, for an initiative against the massacre of birds in Italy and against industrialised whaling.
- Trade in endangered animal and plant species and their products must be prohibited. As an immediate measure we demand a licence requirement for such products (e.g. furs) and a ban on the import and sale of sealskins. Strict protection of birds against hunting, pesticides and biotope destruction.
- Chemical pesticides should be replaced by biological ones. As an immediate measure, nature conservancy bureaus must strictly ensure that pesticides and insecticides are used only if their effect on the ecosystem does not extend over more than a year.
- Stricter tree preservation measures are required, particularly in towns but also in the country. Spreading of salt must be stopped.
- Thickets and hedges must be retained or replanted after land reclamation or construction planning.
- A register of animal and plant species is to be introduced in order to monitor their existence and extent.
- Nature conservancy authorities must obtain a strong influence. Trained ecologists and countryside protection officers should observe the composition of species in a given area (biotope indexing).
- Creation of extensive nature reserves free from human settlement in which economic activity is carried out only for the purpose of preservation.

IV. 7. Protection of Animals

In animal breeding, the introduction of industrial methods which already contravene the present animal protection laws has led to increased cruelty to animals. Chickens, calves, pigs and fur-bearing animals are all battery farmed.

In the name of science, thousands of animals daily undergo fatal experiments, e.g. for the testing of chemicals, weapons, medicines and cosmetics.

We Greens have the following objectives:

- Animals must no longer be legally considered as 'objects', but should be granted a special legal status. The torture of animals is to be severely punished.
- In agriculture, domestic animals are to be kept in ways that are fair to their species and nature.
- Cruel battery farming must finally be abolished. As an immediate measure we demand an obligatory declaration of the origin of animal products, whether domestically produced or imported (e.g. battery or free range for chickens and eggs).
- Animal breeding that is fair to the species is in the true interest of agriculture, particularly of small farms, as jobs there are being destroyed by the competition of industrially rationalised animal production.
- Strict regulations are to be made for trade in domestic animals, in order to ensure the keeping of animals in ways that are fair to the species; these regulations to be controlled by experts responsible to the relevant authority. Appropriate steps are to be taken with private and public zoos and menageries.
- Transport regulations for animals — including fat stock — must be revised with greater regard to the protection of animals.
- Experiments on animals should be replaced by suitable proven alternative methods (e.g. tissue culture or computer simulation in the medical sphere). A comparison must be made by legal experts between the expected benefit from the experiment and the right to life of the animals concerned. Psychological experiments on animals are also highly questionable.
- Senseless repetition of experiments is to be avoided by an obligation to publish and by centralised records of all permitted animal experiments. We reject genetic manipulation of animals or human beings.
- We shall see that responsibility for animal and plant protection is transferred from the ministry of agriculture to an environmental ministry.

V. Individual and Society

V. 1. Democracy and Law

We are at this moment in the midst of a decisive struggle for the preservation and enforcement of democratic rights; strong tendencies are pressing for a state with authoritarian measures and controls.

The free and unrestricted exercise of basic democratic rights is an absolute requirement for all citizens in order to express their social interests and to act politically. Without maintaining and widening democratic rights, we cannot successfully resist the destruction of the environment and act to improve people's working and living conditions.

The policies of the established parties, with the Berufsverbot, informing and surveillance, have created a climate in our country which encourages toadying and conformity, seriously inhibits free political activity and the use of democratic freedom, thus intimidating any form of resistance to the destruction of the environment, unemployment and political oppression.

The curtailment of democratic rights is not a singular phenomenon, but is taking place comprehensively and in many areas. This makes it necessary to counter the totality of such measures comprehensively and not selectively.

We are against all political oppression anywhere in the world, and support all peoples and nationalities struggling for freedom and democratic self-determination, against dictatorship, colonial oppression and foreign domination.

V. 1.1. Freedom of Opinion

The increasing restriction of basic rights by a series of laws, in particular the laws on so-called 'support for violence', defamation of the state, and an interpretation of the libel laws that ignores Article 5 of the West German Constitution [on freedom of expression], enable the judiciary to criminalise the expression of opinion.

Direct and indirect restriction on freedom of opinion exists also in the spheres of press, radio and television, the theatre and the literary world.

We therefore demand:

- An end to state interference with the constitutional rights of freedom of expression; repeal of paragraphs 88a, 90 and 130a of the penal code.
- Minority and critical opinions must be guaranteed the opportunity to represent themselves without censorship in the media.
- No control of library tickets or withdrawal of books from public libraries.

V. 1.2. Democratisation of State and Administration

The excess bureaucratisation of a hierarchical administration, with all its side-effects, thwarts citizens from taking initiatives for themselves.

The impenetrable screen that hides particular economic and political interests has become a danger to democracy.

The Greens therefore demand:

- An end to the entanglements between parliaments, governments, bureaucracies and the economy as expressed in consultancy agreements, subsidies and seats on supervisory boards.
- The establishment of democratically controllable self-administration close to the citizens in place of the increasing monopolisation of economic power and the steadily increasing central administrative apparatus.
- Thorough-going decentralisation and simplification of units of administration.
- The rights of administration and self-determination for states, regions, districts, local authorities and urban districts are to be increased, as well as their share of financial resources.
- The immediate, comprehensible and unrestricted information of citizens about all administrative measures.
- Citizens' initiatives and associations must have the right to be heard by the relevant parliaments and authorities, and to obtain information. They must also be given plaintiff rights against administrative measures, even across state borders.
- The vast flood of consultation, far removed from the citizens and without clearly defined responsibilities, is to be replaced by combined consultation and decision-making boards (economic and social councils) at all levels. These boards must be given a hearing everywhere (local authority, county, district, state and federal) that economically important planning and decision-making takes place. They are to make decisions about public investment policy, and be responsible in conjunction with the relevant political authority for the economic sphere of the budget.
- Abolition of the 5 per cent barrier on parliamentary representation.
- Use of referenda and plebiscites to strengthen direct democracy.

V. 1.3. Internal Party Democracy

The West German political parties do not at present offer an example of living democratic behaviour.

This is why we demand a new law on political parties and already practise its provisions within our own party:

- Meetings and committees at all levels are open to party members.
- A time limitation on all political offices (rotation system), permitting only one reelection.
- Protection of minorities at local, state and federal levels, i.e. minorities must be properly considered, and not passed over in procedures of policy formation.
- Accumulation of offices, i.e. concurrent activity on executives at local, state and federal levels, is forbidden, as well as the combining of a paid office and a representative function.
- Political offices are honorary, with the exception of reimbursement of expenses, the amounts to be fixed by members' or delegates' meetings.
- Payment of deputies, if any, must be determined by the party rank and file, with regard to their personal situation.

- Deputies must not have consultancy agreements with the private sector.
- Deputies, executive members and delegates have to give an account of their work to their electors, and observe their obligation to provide information.
- Representatives of groups and initiatives working in the spheres of environmental protection, protection of life and preservation of democratic rights are given the right to speak and to submit resolutions at workshops and meetings.

V. 1.4. Freedom to Demonstrate

The massive demonstrations against nuclear power stations have exposed the enormous restrictions placed on the freedom of assembly and the right to demonstrate, and how these have been tightened up by both state and federal governments. Individual participants have been criminalised and even sentenced to imprisonment as proxy for the anti-nuclear movement as a whole.

Concerned for the constitutionally guaranteed rights of free assembly and demonstration, the Greens therefore demand:

- Unrestricted ability to exercise the rights of assembly and demonstration, obstructed neither directly nor indirectly by the forces of law and order.
- Abolition of the absurd executive ordinances limiting the freedom to demonstrate by appeal to the notion of 'passive weapons'.
- Immediate quashing of all convictions on opponents of nuclear power and a stop to all prosecutions still under way.

V. 1.5. Berufsverbot and State Surveillance

Despite all criticism at home and abroad, and despite many assurances and promises to abolish the 'enactment on radicals', since 1972 several thousand citizens have been refused jobs or dismissed for political reasons. The number of investigations of loyalty to the constitution has exceeded the million mark, according to the 'constitution protection officers'. Thousands have been summoned to hearings where their political views are examined in a humiliating way.

- Free choice of job and respect for different philosophies are for the Greens basic rights which must not be restricted.
- We are decisively opposed to the Berufsverbot and the principle that political views, activities and organisational membership should be considered in connection with employment in the public sector.

In close connection with the Berufsverbot, a surveillance apparatus was set up in the form of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, which has since spread wildly to other spheres. The gigantic expenditure on surveillance has led to a climate of intimidation and subservience. It appears that the state considers its citizens a security risk.

Among other things, we demand the destruction of surveillance data banks and that no new ones be set up.

V. 1.6. Prisoners and Defence Rights

Prisoners, too, have a right to humane treatment. The minimal laws for protection of prisoners, which were already very much restricted, have now been almost abolished with the introduction of the law forbidding contact, the separating screen between prisoner and visitor, and other measures.

A flood of laws restricting legal defence make it nearly impossible for defence lawyers to uphold the rights of the defendant. Prison sentences often amount to simply locking prisoners away.

We therefore demand:

- Rehabilitation programmes with intensive psychological assistance and care designed to help prisoners help themselves.
- Prisoners must retain their civil rights.
- Medical care, which in many penal institutions is not sufficient, must be improved immediately.
- Freedom of opinion, information and press must no longer be denied to prisoners.
- The resocialisation of prisoners must include the opportunity of vocational training and further education; prisoners should also have the opportunity to undertake meaningful work during their imprisonment, and be paid wages in accordance with the generally prevailing rates.
- The use of the 'chemical cudgel' is to be generally prohibited, and surveillance of visitors to penal institutions to be ended.
- Prisoners' representatives should have wider facilities to voice their views, to help set them on route to self-management, and to leading in future a responsible and critical existence.

V.1.7. Police Legislation

A great intensification of police legislation, along with other surveillance measures, has eroded basic rights. New legislative proposals for a unitary federal police law go yet a step further.

The Greens respond with the following demands:

- We are against the police being empowered to shoot to kill, and support an unarmed police force as in Great Britain.
- We reject house searches and arbitrary seizures without a court order (even when there is 'danger in delay').
- We reject the use of chemical weapons.

V. 2. Women

For many thousands of years women have been especially oppressed and exploited, and exposed to injustice and discrimination. Women are daily prevented from exercising their democratic rights. This is caused by their having to do two jobs, by being brought up to 'passive femininity', and by social prejudice and discrimination against women who rebel against their oppression.

Women no longer watch silently while men disregard their interests in parliaments and assemblies. Since time immemorial women have served as an expendable and cheap reserve army: during a boom they have 40 'equal rights' and go out to work, but there is never a doubt that at the same time they must be loving wife and caring mother. Today it is women who are the first to be dismissed. In times of high unemployment women are always affected more than men; they are sharply reminded of their 'real destiny' and thrust back into home and family. Only then is housework given any recognition as a job. Many women, however, have to do two jobs.

The aim of the Greens is a humane society built on complete equality of the sexes in the context of an overall ecological policy. Carrying through this survival policy will require the utmost participation of women in safeguarding the life of the next generation together with men in the political arena.

The exemplary involvement of women in the citizens' initiatives is a signal. In the Green party, too, political decision-making is essentially already the joint province of men and women, considerably more so than in other parties. This tendency will increase along with the readiness of women to accept political responsibility, and as this competence for responsibility and action is no longer denied them.

V.2.1. Education and Work

In education at school and in the family qualitative distinctions between girls and boys are still made. Girls are prepared for their 'realm' of home and family, while boys are prepared for the requirements of work and society. For most women education ends with the completion of compulsory schooling; only a small proportion can learn a skill, and the majority of these don't get a full training.

We therefore demand:

- Equal school and vocational training for boys and girls.
- Courses in domestic science and childcare should be obligatory school subjects for both sexes.
- More and better educational facilities giving women a choice of their field of work.
- Women should be able to work in all fields in which they are interested, including 'men's jobs'.
- Unrestricted opportunities for retraining and further education for women, especially housewives.

The social discrimination, deprivation and exploitation of women is partly due to their economic dependence. We therefore demand that housework and childcare should be recognised for both sexes as fully waged work with pension rights. This payment is to be independent of child allowances.

Even with equal access to training and equal ability, women are still pushed into inferior jobs. 'Light' conveyor-belt work in the 'piecework age' is almost exclusively performed by women. The second shift places working women and mothers in particular under intolerable stress. In times of economic depression, women are the first to be dismissed; at the moment there are twice as many women on the unemployment register as men.

We therefore demand:

- Women must no longer be used as a reserve army who are arbitrarily shunted to and fro on the labour market.
- Equal pay for equal and equivalent work.
- Abolition of low pay.
- Equal promotion opportunities for women and men.
- Creation of part-time jobs with equal wages for women and men at all levels of skill.
- Special job security and protection from dismissal for single parents.
- No discrimination against women at the workplace.
- No discrimination against unemployed women.
- Women's double burden as worker and housewife must be ended. Both men and women must be ready and able to cope with housework.
- Housework and childcare must be recognised as full-time work with the same rights as other jobs.

V.2.2. Pensions

In the Federal Republic there are 3.4 million women pensioners living alone; over half of them had to make ends meet with less than 600 marks per month (in 1975-76). Many of these elderly women worked year in year out for husband and children. At no time did they receive any payment for this work. Widows receive only 60% of their husband's pension.

We therefore demand:

- Pension contributions to be paid by the state during time away from work due to childcare and housework.
- The same basis for calculating pensions for men and women.
- Widow's pensions to be the full amount of the husband's pension.
- Where pensions are received by both spouses, in the event of the death of one spouse the larger pension is to be paid to the survivor.

V. 2.3. Military Service

In the light of our peace policy, we are against any military service for women.

V.2.4. Violence Against Women

In the Federal Republic about 4 million women are beaten and maltreated every year. They are victims of a society in which power and oppression are an everyday fact. Refuges which take in these women and their children do not as a rule receive unconditional state support. The increase in rape is a frightening fact.

We therefore demand:

- Financial support for autonomous and self-governing women's refuges as well as recognition of women's refuge associations as representative bodies.
- No control or encroachment on the concept of autonomous women's refuges.

- Discrimination against women must be punishable. An institution should be set up, chaired by a woman, to deal with discrimination and disadvantaging of women at work and in society. It would be entitled and obliged to remove discriminatory measures, if necessary by judicial process. Any woman could appeal to this authority.
- Legal procedure under the chair of a woman judge for the protection of women victims of assault who are frequently still suffering from shock.
- Legal prosecution for rape and violence within marriage. Only female officials should conduct these hearings.
- Women doctors must be available at night for emergency medical care.

V.2.5. Children

Those mothers or fathers who devote themselves predominantly to their children, if need be giving up their other jobs to do so, are doing work of the utmost social importance. To ensure that the later development of the child is undisturbed, it is preferable that no change in the main parental role takes place in early years. We therefore demand suitable training in domestic science and childcare, as well as a childcare wage. We also demand a relaxation of the adoption laws.

Working parents whose children are ill have only a few days a year on full pay to look after them. Mothers or fathers therefore have to either sacrifice their holidays or forego their wages in order to care for their children at home.

For this reason we demand:

- A childcare wage for the parent who gives up work to look after a small child.
- The opportunity for mothers and fathers to care for their sick children on full pay.
- The opening of sufficient creches, without charge for people on low incomes.
- Government support for parent/child initiatives.
- Opening of advice centres and parents' seminars.

V.2.7. Pregnancy Leave

The existing pregnancy leave of 6 months is inadequate, and offers insufficient protection to the working mother in today's stressful conditions.

We therefore demand:

- Longer pregnancy leave.
- The option for either parent to devote themselves to childcare for 18 months on full pay.
- Better medical care for pregnant women, mothers and infants.
- Creation of more advice centres, increased expansion of pregnancy advice and improved examinations.
- Free instruction and examination also before pregnancy.
- Support for day care facilities.
- Extensive social help for single parents.
- Two weeks educational leave for working mothers and fathers to attend courses in preparation for the expected baby.

V.2.7. Abortion

The question of abortion brings two basic aims of the Greens into conflict: on the one hand to support wholeheartedly the right of women and men to self-determination; on the other hand to protect human life in all areas.

Protection of life, and human life above all, including care for the further development of humanity, also means making sure that the new life can grow up in a future as happy and humane as possible. This possibility must not depend simply on the resources of the individual family, but requires comprehensive measures of social and state support.

Termination of pregnancy is a question of morality and personal circumstances, and must not be subject to legal prosecution. It should be made unnecessary through sex education and social assistance, as well as by introducing new methods of birth control.

We demand:

- All costs of abortion to be met by health insurance.
- Safe and non-harmful contraceptive methods for women and men to be available without cost.
- No patronising or discrimination against women by state or doctors.
- No prosecution or intimidation of women and doctors who have carried out abortions.

V.3. Children and Young People

(This part of the programme is still being drafted.)

V.4. Old People

Today many old people face the fate of being shoved into old people's homes, isolated from the social environment and given second-class treatment.

We support a dignified old age:

- Legal, social and architectural conditions must be created that enable several generations to live together.
- Clinical care near to home is essential for the integration of sick elderly people, as well as a health visitor service which offers medical treatment and social help.
- The opening of day centres where elderly people can occupy themselves creatively and where medical treatment is also available.
- A flexible retirement age starting at 55, as well as a gradual reduction in working time prior to retirement. In order to avoid 'retirement shock' it must also be possible for people to work beyond the retirement age.
- Pensioners must receive a tax-free income of at least the minimum wage.

V.5. Marginalised Groups

Consistent support for the needs of minorities in our society is a major concern of the Greens. The prejudice and discrimination which still exist in many laws and regulations are based on a combination of ignorance and deliberate oppression of so-called marginal groups.

Apart from the right of national minorities to self-fulfilment, which means among other things that they should retain their cultural and religious characteristics by self-management, we oppose the disadvantaging of immigrants, disabled and sick people, who are excluded from society and regarded simply as an expensive burden. Gay people are discriminated against in all spheres of life, and like ex-prisoners and Romanies are pushed into outsider positions.

The groups mentioned below are given only as examples, and can be supplemented by any number of other disadvantaged groups.

The Greens are against any form of social discrimination, and support the right to self-determination, self-management and self-fulfilment.

V.5.1. Discrimination Against Immigrants

We Greens see the many immigrant workers and their dependents as an important part of the population in our country, with equal rights to everyone else. We are against such kinds of discrimination as, for example, a time limit on work and residence permits.

We insist that our immigrant colleagues and their families should be granted on demand full rights as citizens of the Federal Republic (freedom of movement, free choice of workplace, free political activity).

The Greens also demand:

- An end must be put by law to the activities of unscrupulous dealers in human beings who make a business of recruiting and supplying immigrant workers.
- No encroachment on prevailing working conditions, equal treatment with Germans by employment exchanges.
- Free political activity for all democratic organisations of immigrants.
- No forcible displacement or expulsion of politically persecuted immigrants.
- No cooperation with foreign secret services for the purpose of spying on foreign nationals, but a restriction on any activity by such secret service organisations in the Federal Republic.
- A ban on all activities of fascist and other terrorist organisations.
- No restriction on the self-organisation of immigrants and the free operation of their representative organs. We support unrestricted cooperation with our immigrant colleagues in the trade unions, on a basis of equal rights.
- The Greens demand the right of our immigrant fellow citizens to vote in local elections from the beginning of their stay here. After five years residence in the Federal Republic the right to vote and be elected should be granted at state and federal level.
- The disadvantaging of immigrant children in German schools, which is due to a whole range of factors including language difficulties, should be finally ended.
- Immigrant children must have the right to acquire German nationality on demand.

V.5.2. Discrimination Against Romanies

Following the persecution of the Romanies under the 'Third Reich', their position after the Second World War was characterised by arbitrary actions on the part of the authorities, denial of democratic rights and forcible settlement. To guarantee this minority the future preservation of their characteristics and enable a self-fulfilment appropriate to their culture,

the Greens demand:

- Unrestricted compensation of the Romanies for injustices suffered under the 'Third Reich' and in concentration camps.
- No forcible settlement, for this would completely destroy their specific culture.
- An end to the often spiteful treatment by public authorities, and to police surveillance.
- On all committees and institutions where decisions are taken about Romanies, their own people should be represented on a basis of parity.
- Establishment of organisations where representatives of government and administration sit together with Romany representatives, to advise on the improvement of their social and medical situation.
- Support for associations and cultural activities of the German Romanies. Their recognition as an ethnic minority with its own language, culture and traditions which has resided in Germany for centuries.
- Creation of school opportunities suited to the nomadic way of life.
- Self-help assistance for needy Romanies in accordance with their cultural characteristics.
- Legal measures to give travelling people the same social security as settled people.

V.5.3. Discrimination Against Sexual Outsiders

In our society there is not only a suppression and taboo on homosexuality, but on sexuality in general. Basing ourselves on the findings of modern sexual science, however, we believe, in common with an increasing number of progressive-minded people, that homosexuality and heterosexuality are equivalent forms of expression of human sexuality. Special treatment by the penal code is something we fundamentally reject.

In particular, we demand:

- Paragraph 175 of the penal code, which contrary to widespread belief is still on the statute book, must be repealed.
- Since the beginning of the century, so-called 'pink lists' of gay people have been kept, with shady legal justification. We demand the immediate eradication of these lists by the relevant authorities, and a prohibition on round-ups of gay people. In addition, surviving gay victims of the concentration camps — the 'pink triangle' inmates — should at long last be rehabilitated and compensated without delay. History also obliges us to grant the right of asylum to foreign nationals who are still threatened in their own country because of their sexual orientation, as much as to victims of political persecution.

- Gay women suffer other forms of discrimination. Though there is no legal persecution, socially they suffer a double discrimination: as lesbians and as women. Besides the social outlawing that gay men also daily experience, they are, like other women, discriminated against at work, among other places. Besides, in our society female sexuality is simply not accepted as equivalent to male.
- Gay people of both sexes often have difficulties in their parental homes, in the search for living accommodation, and at work if their homosexuality is 'discovered' there. To help put a stop to any discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation, we demand as a first step the introduction of anti-discrimination laws with the following points, among others:

  a) Sexual orientation and open appearance as gay or lesbian must not be grounds for eviction or dismissal from work.

  b) No discrimination against unmarried people in disputes regarding family, inheritance, tax and penal law.

  c) The right to care for their children must not be withdrawn from lesbian mothers or gay fathers on 'discovery' of their homosexuality.

  d) Easier divorce for lesbians on establishing their homosexuality.

  e) No discrimination against gays and lesbians who wish to adopt children.

  f) To counter anti-homosexual incitement, gay people must be given facilities to present themselves in the media.

  g) Deletion of the concept of homosexuality as a sickness from the German registers of the World Health Organisation.

The principle underlying this legislation should also find a place in the Constitution. We therefore demand the following change to Article 3, Chapter III: 'No person may be discriminated against or disadvantaged on the grounds of sex, *sexual orientation* ... '

Since gay people are often seen as sick, attempts are still made from the medical side to 'cure' them by psychosurgery, electric shock, etc. We are fundamentally opposed to these 'therapies', and demand that medical treatment be rather directed to the self-assertion of the person concerned. The same aim is pursued by the various gay and lesbian groups. Private and public support should be given to their self-help organisations.

As social prejudices against homosexuality are already deployed in the education of children, so that homosexuality is dealt with in sex education, if at all, under the heading of 'perversions', we demand a sex education designed to enable children and young people to develop their sexuality freely and without fear. Heterosexuality, marriage and family must not be presented as the only possible way of life.*

V.6. Education and Research

V.6.1. Education

School today involves competition, submission to authority, stress, reluctance to learn, fear of failure with effects including even suicide, overcrowded classrooms, dropping out and teacher unemployment. The present school and college education which promotes the well-adapted

*At this point the translation omits a lengthy note referring to a discussion still in progress on the age of consent. A resolution had been proposed that 'only the use or threatened use of force, or abuse of a relationship of dependence, should be a punishable offence', and the note explains that this question was still under discussion at the grassroots.

citizen and technocrat must be strongly supplemented in areas which are essential for the development of the overall personality. This includes spiritual, social and moral education, as well as the development of the practical, physical, and especially the creative abilities needed by human beings, who are marked out by nature for creativity. It also involves education for ecologically conscious action and thus for social and democratic action as well, solidarity and tolerance towards other people and other nations.

We Greens support the following objectives:

Structure of schools

- Surveyable schools designed with equal responsibility by parents, teachers and pupils.
- Equal rights for all schools, so that state schools can also benefit from the positive experience of alternative schools. The laws and regulations on the opening of alternative schools must be simplified.
- A unified, integrated school system, i.e. all young people to be educated up to tenth grade, all receiving the same graduation certificate, with individual assistance in obtaining this.
- Smaller classes, which can be achieved in the short term by taking on unemployed teachers.
- Extension of further education for adults up to recognised graduation level, with sufficient financial assistance.

School curriculum

- Learning for teachers and pupils on a practical basis in handicrafts, industry and agriculture, in order to reduce the separation of school and work.
- Students must get out of the school, and living reality must enter the school. Separation of education and leisure must be ended. Music, drama, painting, work and play must find their place in the school.
- Thinking in network systems as the pervasive goal of instruction, in order to promote the understanding of ecological cycles and social relationships and contradictions. Schools must enable students to perceive the interests underlying social and individual conflicts. They must become capable of solving conflicts between people in a way based on solidarity, of formulating their own interests and giving them expression in joint action.

Free learning and teaching

- Maintenance and extension of opportunities for an all-round education and training for everyone without regard to origin, sex and age.
- Recognition of diplomas of all teachers and students by all federal states.
- Complete abolition of entry restrictions to all institutes of higher education.
- Support for student political activities (student journals, political groups, etc.).

V.6.2. Research

The results of research in the applied sciences have changed the environment in such a way as to increasingly expose the limitations on

our possibilities. The applied sciences must not only serve short-term economic interests. The entanglement of large-scale industry with politics, administration and science must be vigorously broken.

The draft law on higher education provides for political discipline over students and their representative organs, the total institutionalisation of study as well as a deterioration in students' social conditions.

The Greens support:

- Co-determination rights for all scientists in state and private research institutions.
- Establishment of committees of scientists and citizens' representatives to provide information on the long-term consequences particular projects may have for ecology and life. The directions of research and technical development must be made more transparent for the public so as to ensure a well-founded decision-making at this level too.
- Increased support for research by independent institutes into ecological relationships and social structures and their reciprocal connections.
- All efforts and initiatives which aim to achieve free political and scientific action in colleges and a science at the service of humanity and nature.

V.7. Culture

The prerequisites for cultural action and experience vary extensively and essentially depend on the following conditions:

a) The world of work can promote a relationship to culture (in creative, diversified, stimulating and communicative occupations), it can be indifferent to it or it can destroy it (under monotonous, one-sided and tiring working conditions).

b) To gain access to the very many and varied forms of culture, it is necessary to be suitably informed and to be guided to an understanding of them.

Thus in order to offer equal opportunities in the cultural sphere, we must aim at equally favourable working conditions for all and an equally good education.

The culture promoted by the state has little to do with the necessities of life or people's interests. In addition, cultural institutions are concentrated in the centres of conurbations, so that people in outlying districts and particularly in the countryside are virtually cut off from enjoying them. What is offered by the mass media in the way of culture generally has very little to do with people's concrete interests and does not further their imagination and enjoyment of their own cultural activity.

The development of a culture industry must be deemed particularly negative, as:

- It breaks the connection between creators and recipients of culture and merely develops a 'cultural consumption'.
- It is adapted to the underdevelopment of culture due to harsh working conditions and educational backwardness.
- It keeps a large number of people in far-reaching passivity.
- It fosters the star cult and culture marketing.

Besides the professional culture business there is also a democratic cultural movement at the grassroots; for many social groups this is an important opportunity for self-expression. Many people in this movement also start to resist being mere consumers of the state culture business. They have begun to make their own music, painting and drama, for example in 'friendship houses' and at town festivals; things which give them enjoyment and are useful. An important characteristic of this grassroots culture is the desire to abolish the separation between producer and 'culture consumer'. Too few resources are made available to this work, and it is often subject to attempts at restriction by culture politicians of the established parties and by the establishment press.

If cultural work has an essential contribution to make to the cultural self-fulfilment of the socially disadvantaged, it must be free of mechanisms of oppression.

The demands and aims of the Greens are:

- The classical cultural institutions such as museums, libraries, theatres, concert halls, etc., supplemented by municipal cinemas, must consider the needs and everyday problems of the population more than they have until now, and transfer their activities from dead non-residential metropolitan centres more into live urban and rural centres.
- As the population of rural areas remain at a disadvantage, considerably more resources must be made available to the work of travelling exhibitions, mobile libraries, theatres and cinemas, as well as travelling music groups and orchestras. Alternative cultural work which stimulates thinking about cultural forms and contents, which many people take part in, where lively communication takes place between actors and audience and which are independent of commercial interests, must be strongly supported. This applies in particular to developing centres of communication in town and country.
- Special support to be given to cultural work which involves and appeals to children, young people, women and the elderly, as well as to immigrants, ex-prisoners, addicts and other minorities.
- The emphasis in historical monuments and sites should be shifted away from the preservation of individual historic treasures to the preservation and care for complete sections of the cultural landscape, including roadways, whose history and significance people in the area can relate to. There must be greater participation of the inhabitants in planning, and more exchange of information with them about historical background. The same applies to art in the public space.
- Under no circumstances must cultural activity be restricted, censored or persecuted by the state.
- The cultural budget earmarked primarily for 'grassroots culture', and the creation of a broad and decentralised cultural supply for the population, must be considerably increased.

V.8. Media

Article 5 of the Constitution, that 'each person has the right to express and spread their opinions freely in speech, writing and image', must apply without reservation to everyone in the country. All laws which

limit freedom of speech must be abolished. Every democracy must be measured by the realisation of this basic right.

50 Market principles in the press have led to the displacement of smaller newspapers by the big capitalist ones, or to independent papers having to amalgamate into information and publishing cooperatives. Comprehensive and critical reporting is less and less available. To restore an effective plurality of opinion, a special law must be introduced to prevent monopolies and mergers of newspapers. It must be possible to apply this retrospectively. Government help for newspapers in difficulty must be extended. We shall support the local alternative press.

The independence of newspaper editors from instructions of their publishers must be guaranteed by law. It must be made considerably more difficult to sack editors, so that pressure cannot be exerted in this way on their freedom of opinion.

The influence of economically strong groups and political parties on the contents of radio and tv programmes and newspapers, must be reduced.

The publicly owned media network must definitely be maintained. Radio and tv transmitters in private hands should remain forbidden. This must also apply in future to cable tv. The North German Radio must be kept in its presently existing form.

The publicly owned media (radio and tv) must be opened up to all social groups. Minorities must also be able to draw attention via the media to their problems and interests. One possibility would be a system like that in the Netherlands, where apart from transmission of news and political information, a major part of the programming is supplied by associations which anyone may form and run on a non-commercial basis.

The publicly owned media must completely renounce advertising.

The centralised provision of news by a few agencies all over the world has led to a marked news monopoly. We consider it questionable that new techniques are being introduced which directly compose news received by radio and thus still further advance the standardisation of news. Furthermore they destroy jobs. Similar dangers are threatened by the introduction of televised newspapers.

By a policy of subsidies and legal measures, the printing of newspapers must gradually be transferred extensively to recycled paper.

On a long-term basis all newspaper publishers must introduce employee participation.

V.9. Environment and Health

V.9.1. Health Policy

Ecological conditions have worsened qualitatively with the poisoning of the environment, foodstuffs and consumer goods, as well as due to motor transport. Furthermore the burden of industrial life with its night work, shifts and piecework can no longer be tackled by medicine as practised today.

Already every *fourth* person dies of cancer, caused basically by the poisoning of the environment in the 1950s and 1960s.

Contrary to a certain interpretation of official statistics, life expectancy is falling. Chronic illnesses form the largest part of all diseases.

This is mainly caused by:

- The anti-human methods employed in offices and factories.
- The disturbance of ecological balances by air and water pollution, radioactivity, denaturing of food, poor nutrition, weakening of the body's own healing process by symptom therapy, mental stress, deprivation of meaningful human relationships, excessive use of medicines and misuse of drugs.

There are many diseases that the present health service cannot cure, at most suppressing them by medical methods and drugs, yet this also reduces the body's last forces of resistance. In most cases it serves to make people 'fit' again on a short-term basis. More and more machines determine the course of diagnosis and treatment. The operation of these machines is already taken more seriously than the care of sick people. The sick person is handed over to this health service as an object, without influence and helpless.

The forces which are destroying our health and a healthy environment are the same as drive the present economic system.

During the last few decades the health service has developed into an industrial giant. Support is today given only to techniques that promise rationalised and apparatus-intensive services capable of being automated and making a profit. Health problems cannot be considered in isolation from environment, work, housing, leisure and living conditions. Environmental conditions are today the cause of many mass illnesses: lung diseases, diseases of the limbs, deafness, skin, stomach and intestinal diseases, infections, heart and circulatory diseases and diabetes, and these are all constantly on the increase.

Human beings must be placed at the centre of the total medicine we aspire to. Still more important is health care based on enlightened self-help, so that individuals with improved knowledge can take responsibility for their own health.

Prevention is better than cure!

A preventive ecological medicine is based on the knowledge that the greatest part of the diseases of modern civilisation are due to external — i.e. environmental and social — influences. Prevention can only be undertaken if the causes of these illnesses are changed in an ecological direction. Health education about the real causes must also be given, mainly at school and at work.

- A preventive medicine must be freed from the economic interests represented, for example, by the pharmaceutical industry, the advertising of drugs and a medical practice which takes away people's own judgement and harms their health.
- The overriding goal must be the preservation of health and not the healing of disease. Social, ecological and individual living conditions and ways of behaviour which promote health are therefore to be greatly encouraged.
- The most important environmental factor is diet. This should not lead to overweight. Instead of the present availability of severely denatured foodstuffs such as refined sugar and flour, the availability of natural foods is to be encouraged, such as organic vegetables and wholewheat bread.
- Stricter controls are indispensable against the misuse of pesticides and veterinary drugs, and against the side-effects of medicines and chemical products.

- Wider education about the dangers of unnecessary use of medicaments and abuse of alcohol and nicotine. Advertising for these is to be prohibited.
- Appropriate activities such as mass sport should be encouraged so as to maintain physical fitness as long as possible.
- Biology teaching in schools must give sufficient space to health education. Courses at local colleges, in health resorts and at work are eminently suitable for reaching the adult population.
- Legislators and other authorities are called upon to put a stop to the creeping poisoning of environment and foodstuffs. This applies also to radiation from nuclear power stations and to chemical pollutants in industry and agriculture.
- Workplaces must be made more humane by reducing stress, noise, toxic substances and night work.

At the centre of a comprehensive health care is the whole human being and her/his needs.

- Ecological medicine is a total unitary medicine. The sick person must be treated as a being exposed to various environmental conditions, strengthened as a self-conscious and self-determining personality, and placed at the centre of concern.
- Ecological medicine stands for methods of treatment which strengthen people's own powers of resistance. Treatment must not focus just on one particular organ, as in the prevailing medical conception.
- The patient must be neither a guinea-pig for the pharmaceutical industry nor a means to the profitability of expensive medicines.
- Ecological medicine must therefore avoid: excessive consumption of medicaments, unnecessary surgical interventions, overmechanised large hospitals.
- Contrary to the forms of care which we identify with ecological medicine, the increasing division of labour, specialisation and mad rush of work (e.g. through insufficient staff) deprive hospital staff of the opportunity to care for patients in an all-round way, as well as undermining their own professional self-fulfilment.
- We also support a change in outpatient care, aiming among other things at a more equal and better service in the countryside and the poorer urban districts. This also means that more doctors are needed with a different attitude towards patients, i.e. viewing them in their entirety. Outpatient medical care must particularly take the social and mental aspects of illness into account. It is also its task to contribute to a doctor-patient relationship which is not marked by the ignorance and dependency of the sick person.
- Confidence must not be destroyed by storing personal data on patients in computers, which cannot be protected against abuse.
- Ecological medicine will support an expansion of small hospitals close to the population, sufficient outpatient treatment centres, the use of alternative medical and nursing projects and treatment methods, natural healing, a radical reduction in the use of chemical medicines and the stimulation of health-preserving ways of life.
- We demand research into the occurrence of 'technical errors' in medicine and investigation of the consequent social costs.
- We support the introduction of a patients' ombudsperson accessible to the citizens in towns and suburbs. They would help in clarifying the situation and obtaining expert opinion in the case of mistakes made by

physicians. They would be responsible to the state parliament only, and have access to the media.

- We demand increased research into the causes of illness and the possibilities of overcoming them. Centralised health statistics are essential (e.g. cancer registers).
- All effective directions of alternative medicine and natural healing must be investigated and used, including psychological methods. The inclusion of appropriate subjects in medical training and the opening of clinics working with these alternative methods.
- We demand an improvement in the training and retraining of general practitioners, to meet the growing demands of basic care.

Doctor and patient contribute to healing in a critical partnership.

Patients have a right to extensive explanation. Only critical attention during treatment allows them to cooperate sufficiently in healing and the maintenance of health.

Patients have the right, either in person or through a representative, to have access at any time to their treatment files.

V.9.2. Psychiatry

The destruction of contact with neighbours, lifeless zones of new construction, meaningless work, increasing pressure of competition under threat of unemployment, greater demands at school, authoritarian education (frequently due to incompetence), ever fewer opportunities to get to know other people and therefore increasing isolation — all these lead to an increase in psychosocially caused illnesses (alcoholism, and so-called 'neuroses', 'psychoses' and 'psychosomatic' diseases).

An ecologically oriented psychiatry requires an improvement in outpatient psychosocial care, among other things by an increased number of counselling centres.

Those affected should not be shoved into a passive patient role, but offered the opportunity to help themselves.

Patients with mental problems are often arbitrarily sent to psychiatric institutions and closed wards. The conditions in these institutions contribute to such people becoming really mentally ill. People are placed in closed wards without having any means of defending themselves against this. Their rights are greatly restricted.

An ecologically oriented psychiatry will take steps to prevent people with mental problems being placed in mental hospitals. These institutions should be made redundant by measures of reintegration in urban and rural communities. Possibilities in this direction include communal dwellings and integrated therapy centres which guarantee that mentally sick people will be intensively cared for and at the same time given contact with society.

V.9.3. Drugs

Out of pure greed for profit, the population at large and doctors in particular are drowned by a deluge of irresponsible advertising from the pharmaceutical industry. The struggle of competition and the worldwide pressure to expand leads this industry to constantly throw new medicines

onto the market, with negative side-effects which frequently outweigh their healing powers. The ridiculously large number of drugs with similar effects prevents any balanced application. Hospitals and doctors' practices frequently serve as laboratories for trials of medicines on patients. The influence of the pharmaceutical industry leads to experiments being conducted which no longer have any medical justification. We must recognise that an ever increasing proportion of the research budget of the pharmaceutical companies nowdays consists in fact of advertising costs, and that there is no independent institution for the control of drugs. We also demand more research into alternative therapies.

An ecological medicine will see to it that doctors have the opportunity of extensively informing themselves of alternative forms of treatment, including therapies that avoid the use of drugs.

An ecological medicine will support stricter and comprehensive control of drugs and of the price policy of the pharmaceutical industry, as well as limiting the flood of drugs. The producer must be made responsible for damage to health arising from unresearched side-effects.

V.9.4. The Disabled

People who are mentally or physically disabled are part of our society and must be allowed to have an active place within it. They must no longer be excluded from public life. We want to live together with them.

We therefore support:

- Places for disabled people in general housing accommodation.
- Adequate jobs and training places for disabled people in all fields, and in workshops specially equipped for this purpose.
- Design of public transport and all buildings so that these are accessible to disabled people without difficulty.
- Generous support for disabled people's transport requirements and cultural needs, and the establishment of a service of helpers.

HERETIC BOOKS, P O BOX 247, LONDON N15 6RW tel (01) 800 5861

In North America, order from Carrier Pigeon,
40 Plympton St, Boston, MA 02118, USA

For mail order, add 10%.

heretic books



The Battle For Bermondsey

Preface by Tony Benn — **Peter Tatchell**

UK £2.95
US $5.50

A book that reveals the extraordinary machinations of the Labour right wing, and exposes the systematic campaign of press harassment that marked the dirtiest election in modern British politics. 'One of the most important political documents to have been published about the Labour Party since the war' (Tony Benn)

Revolution in the Affluent Society

Preface by Thor Heyerdahl — **Erik Dammann**

UK £4.95
US $8.95

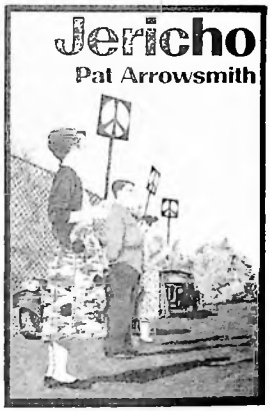
The 'Future In Our Hands' movement in Norway combines support for the Third World with a campaign for a lower energy lifestyle in the rich countries. Here the movement's founder explains the philosophy underlying this flourishing form of Green politics.

Notes From a Waiting-Room

anatomy of a political prisoner — **Alan Reeve**

UK £3.50
US $6.50

After seventeen years in Broadmoor, Alan Reeve was refused release solely because he would not renounce his communist convictions. While on the run he wrote this life story, which analyses the repressive system of the 'special hospitals' and is also a fascinating human document.



Jericho

Pat Arrowsmith

UK £3.95
US $7.50

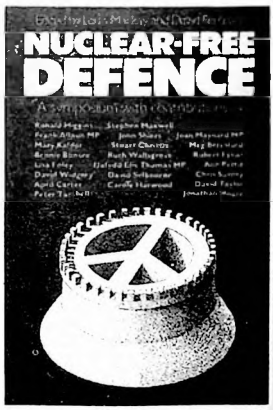
A novel of the peace movement, set in the late 1950s yet surprisingly contemporary today, especially in its depiction of the tensions between women and men, heterosexual and gay, pacifists and socialists.

Socialism and Survival

Rudolf Bahro

UK £3.50
US $6.50

Widely reviewed and debated since its publication in October 1982, this book is sure to gain still further influence as the dialectic between red and green gets under way in Britain.



Nuclear-Free Defence

UK £3.95
US $7.50

Louis Mackay and David Fernbach (eds)

A symposium with 23 contributors from the peace movement, including Frank Allaun, Pat Arrowsmith, Joan Maynard, Peter Tatchell, Stuart Christie and Ronald Higgins.

'Die Grünen' – the West German Greens – are today the most dynamic force in the worldwide Green movement, and the most successful in terms of their electoral performance. Many of their leading figures have an international reputation, particularly Petra Kelly and Rudolf Bahro. This is a translation of the Federal Programme on which they fought the general election of March 1983. In a Preface to the English edition, Jonathon Porritt of the Ecology Party explains the significance of this document for the Green movement in Britain and elsewhere.

heretic books

UK £1.50/US $2.95

POLITICS ISBN 0 946097 13 5